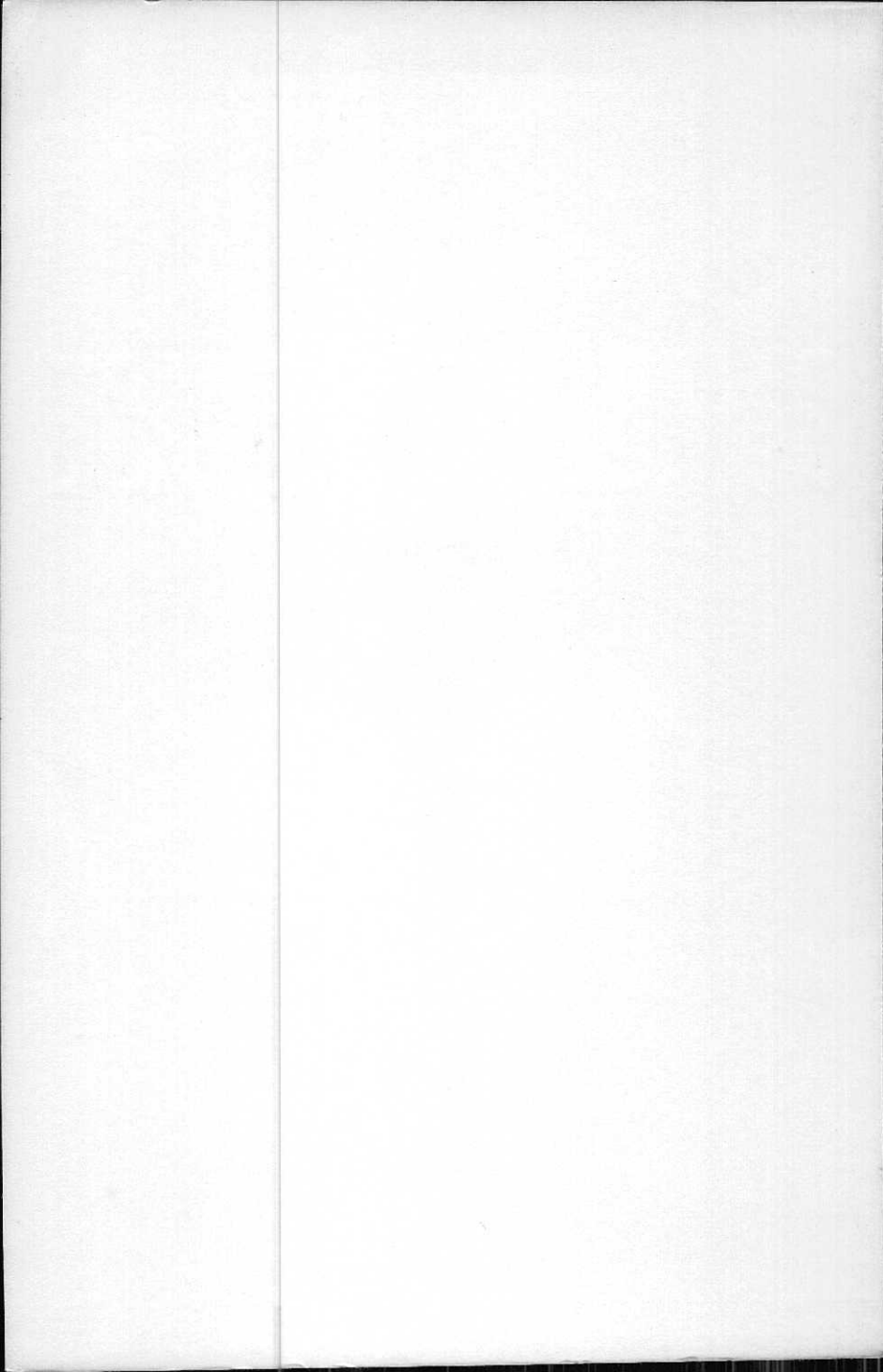


THE GAMBLING MENACE



EDITED BY
ROSS COGGINS

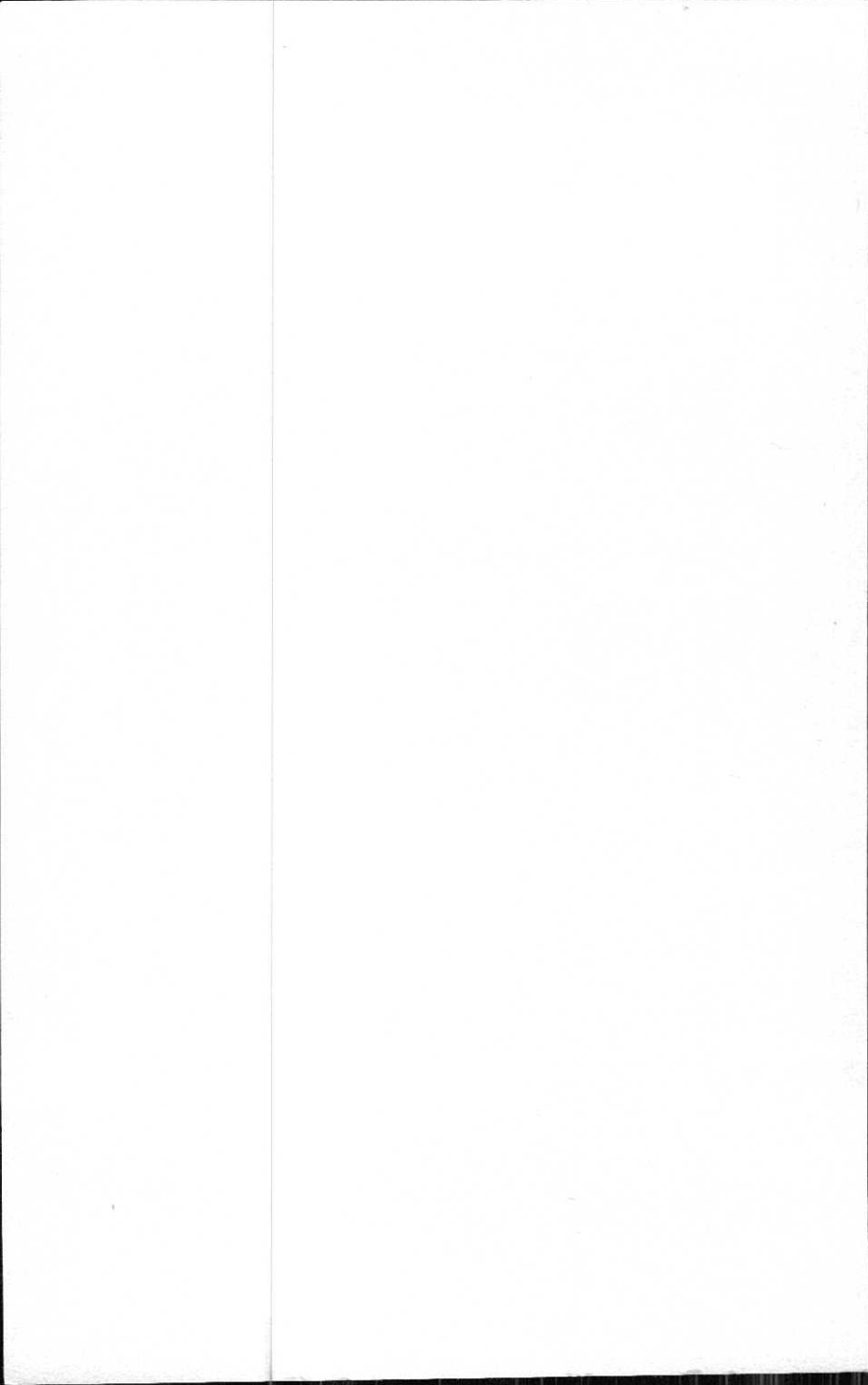
Full, valid information for those who wish to deal
constructively and positively with the problem



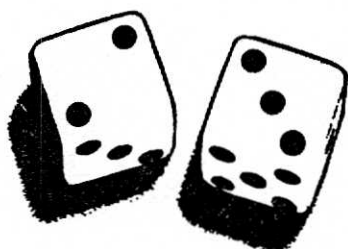
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The Gambling Menace



THE GAMBLING MENACE



Ross Coggins,
compiler and editor

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Preface



The initial assumption on which this provocative volume is based is that gambling is a serious menace to the nation. The validity of this assumption is revealed in repeated public warnings from many of the nation's most responsible leaders—including the United States Attorney General, senators, congressmen, law enforcement officials, religious leaders, sociologists, and elected state and local government officials throughout the nation. There is impressive evidence that, in addition to an alarming increase in illegal gambling, there exists today a highly organized nationwide effort to extend legalized gambling.

A second assumption relates to the complexity of the gambling menace. It is a dangerous oversimplification to assume that the gambling problem has purely moral and spiritual dimensions and that earnest moralizing is a sufficient response. There are other aspects of the problem of gambling, including economic, social, psychological, and legal aspects. This volume represents an effort to view gambling in total perspective, with a view to motivating in Christian citizens a realistic response to the gambling menace.

The third assumption of the book is that the gambling menace confronts Christian citizens with a responsibility which they can evade only at great cost to the spiritual and moral life of the nation. This final assumption is vigorously challenged by pro-

gambling forces who challenge the churches to "stick to religion." However, thoughtful Christian citizens see this argument for what it is—a denial of the sovereignty of God and the lordship of Jesus Christ.

Lectures delivered at the 1965 Christian Life Conferences at Glorieta Baptist Assembly inspired this volume. The lecturers included all of the Southern Baptist theological seminary professors of Christian social ethics. Chapter 9, however, was contributed by a notable guest, Reuben A. Zubrow, professor of economics at the University of Colorado. Dr. Zubrow has coauthored a massive study of the Nevada tax structure for the Nevada Legislative Tax Study Group. His insights into the significance of legalized gambling as a source of tax revenue greatly strengthen the book's underlying thesis that gambling is an evil which must be rooted out of American life. The last chapter of this study is devoted to an unusually comprehensive plan of action which provides information for a total response to the gambling menace.

ROSS COGGINS

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1

The Problem



Intensified in past decades of affluence, the gambling problem now affects more Americans than at any time in history. Yet so much of it stands in the shadows of our society that it is difficult to discern its causative factors and to determine the exact extent of its damage. Those who investigate gambling are overwhelmed both with the immensity of the problem and the scarcity of concrete information concerning it. They are also haunted by the uneasy feeling that the gambling problem may be more symptom than disease.

Whether gambling is symptom or disease, to ignore its threat would be a fatal mistake. Like an iceberg, the visible aspect of the gambling problem occasionally catches the eye of observers. But the fifty billion-dollar annual gambling activity in our nation leaves in its wake enough heartache, suffering, crime, and devastation for Christians to be creatively concerned. Our inadequacy of definition limits our effectiveness in dealing with it.

Its Many Faces

The attempt to bring the gambling problem into focus produces a kaleidoscope of images. Let us look at the total picture, examining in detail some of the many faces emerging from the complex pattern of relationships.

The wealthy sportsman.—Silhouetted in the background of the

gambling picture is the wealthy sportsman. His respectability is more than a determinative factor. He lives in a world of high finance in which the gamble involved is a part of the atmosphere he breathes. Failing to differentiate between investments and gambling, he is shocked at the suggestion that criminal elements are assisted by his efforts to eliminate laws which curtail gambling. When told that legalized gambling increases the temptation for poor persons to waste essential money, his stock answer is, "I never gamble more than I can afford, and others should do the same." Pleasure-seekers create a smoke screen which makes it difficult to see the real problems posed by gambling.

The racketeer.—The real power in the gambling problem is not the gambler but the professional racketeer. He takes no chances. He makes certain that the odds are always stacked for the house to win. The sinister shadow of the racketeer ultimately is the gambling problem.

Only occasionally will the racketeer be an illiterate Joseph Valachi, mumbling in televised Senate hearings, describing a world in which murder is part of a day's work. It is more likely that he will be a well-dressed businessman, moving in social circles with entertainers and public figures. He may have legitimate business investments in banks and other enterprises, while drawing the major portion of his income from gambling, narcotics, prostitution, and other criminal activities. District Attorney William Cahn of Nassau County, New York, is quoted as saying:

We have 50 important Mafia leaders living in Nassau County on Long Island. They live circumspectly in houses costing upward of \$75,000. . . . They all claim they are respectable businessmen. Until we began exposing them, many citizens did not know that they were narcotics pushers, gamblers, labor racketeers, blackmailers, and panders, with hired killers to do their work.¹

Testimony before investigating groups indicates that the major source of income for syndicated crime is illegal gambling. Wherever gambling exists in any larger proportions than the friendly game of poker in the den, it does so with the knowledge and franchise of the big-time crime syndicates.

The politician.—The politician is one of the major figures in any portrayal of the gambling problem. The rising expectations of citizens for governmental channels to flow with assistance for various needs in a changing society has created a tremendous pressure upon the elected official. He often views the rake-off of the pari-mutuel pool and the glittering possibilities of the lottery as an easy tax source. While many politicians see the fallacy of placing society's approval upon an activity which contributes to the deterioration of moral fiber, others are willing to tax men's weaknesses in order to avoid the consequences of taxing their strengths.

The corrupted public official.—Wherever illegal gambling exists so that the man on the street can discover it and participate in it, it exists with the knowledge of law enforcement officers.

The respect for law, upon which honest law enforcement depends, is undermined when a corruptive minority participates in the kickback of gambling operations. Honest law enforcement officials are gravely concerned about this problem. The New York State Commission of Investigating in its 1959 Annual Report stated that its investigation revealed that "the major law enforcement problem of this state is professional gambling in all its aspects and implications. Professional gamblers are the major corrupting influence in our life today."² The former head of the U. S. Attorney General's Special Group on Organized Crime estimated in 1959 that illegal gambling totals forty-seven billion dollars annually. The underworld keeps about nine billion dollars. "Fully half of the syndicates' income from gambling is earmarked for protection money paid to police and politicians."³

The corrupted public official develops a strange myopia. He is unable to see what others observe. When the controversy in Arkansas over legalizing casino gambling was at its hottest, Ralph Phelps, president of Ouachita Baptist University, served as state chairman of Churchmen Against Gambling. Replying to the report that Governor Faubus' state police could find no illegal gambling in Hot Springs, Arkansas, Dr. Phelps caustically said, "I suggest that the Governor's state police take a taxi to the gambling casinos. That's the way everybody else finds them."

The victims of gambling.—While the major figures already re-

ferred to stand out in bold relief in the gambling picture, the backdrop against which these faces are seen is a mosaic of millions of faces of the victims. Each face has its own tragic story.

See the expressionless face of the little white-haired woman standing in front of the Las Vegas slot machines. As though automated, she keeps three machines going simultaneously. As though part of a strange nightmare in which machine masters men, she reveals no feeling whatsoever.

The anguished face of the talented young Dallas attorney listens as the judge sentences him to fifteen years in prison for embezzlement. He is asking the court to arrange psychiatric treatment for him.

There is the hopeless face of a wife listening once again to the explanations and the promises of a husband who cannot afford to gamble but does anyway.

Finally, there is the grief-stricken face of one caught up in the aftermath of brutality. When asked, "Is there a connection between gambling and crime?" Herbert Jack Miller, who served at that time as Assistant United States Attorney General in charge of criminal prosecution, said: "Yes. It's a man on a meat hook we discovered in a San Francisco warehouse. It's a man in a car dynamited in Cleveland, Ohio. Maybe he deserved it, but his thirteen-year-old son didn't deserve to be blinded for life."

Its Definition

Before analyzing the factors which contribute to the tremendous growth of gambling, it would be wise to examine gambling itself. What is it? What is its relationship with the chance-taking which is normal in an uncertain world?

Factors involved.—Three factors must be present for any activity to be called gambling. First, there must be a payoff, a prize of money or merchandise. Second, the awarding of the payoff must be based on the chance (and, in some instances, the skill) involved. A final factor is that eligibility for the prize is dependent not only on the chance taken but on a payment or an agreement to pay by the player.⁴

It is essential to note that gambling cannot be justified by the

argument that it is just another form of calculated risk, such as stock market investments or farming.

A noted economist, Arthur A. Smith, states: "Gambling, as defined properly in economics, designates (1) the deliberate creation of risks of a kind not inherent in or necessary to the functioning of economic society, and (2) the deliberate wagering or staking of important or valuable considerations upon events which so far as the parties to the wager can know, lie in the realm of pure chance or luck." He goes on to describe the relationship between gambling and risk-taking:

For anyone to contend that the ownership of stocks and bonds and insurance is gambling merely shows a lack of correct understanding of gambling as an economic term. Corporate business must raise capital to build plants, buy and install machinery, buy raw materials, and hire workers, all in order to produce goods. Stocks represent ownership in such enterprises. Bonds represent loans to them. Risks are involved, of course, but they are necessary risks that have to be assumed by someone (or by society as a whole as in the case of communism).⁵

It is true that men can gamble on the stock market or in other financial manipulations. They can gamble on any kind of venture. The risking of money to provide for expansions of industry is not gambling, but to calculate on pure chance for profit is gambling. However, even this poses a different problem in that the temporary use of the money does create economic productivity. The attempt to defend gambling on the basis of arguments centering in the functioning of an economy is futile. It is simply not the same thing, since both risks are essential to an economy.

Types.—While gamblers gamble on anything, several types of gambling have become central in any discussion of this problem. Some of these will be described in detail later. A poll taken some years ago by George Gallup revealed the percentage of Americans who gamble in various types of gambling: lotteries, raffles, and bingo, 24 percent; playing cards and dice, 20 percent; betting on sports events or elections, 17 percent; slot machines, 17 percent; punchboards, 15 percent; the "numbers game," 7 percent; and horse races, 7 percent.⁶

The types of gambling which cause the greatest concern center in casino gambling, racetrack gambling, and the various kinds of "numbers" games. Illegal betting through bookies is the major law enforcement problem in the racetrack gambling question.

Casino gambling is legal only in Nevada. While casinos are advertised as being free from criminal control, evidence continues to emerge that the crime syndicates stand in the shadow of the casino-gambling picture in our nation.⁷

The most vicious of all gambling operations is the numbers racket. Set up on a lottery system, with the winning number determined by some previously announced strategy, it operates on the dimes, quarters, and dollars of the poor. It provides fantastic profits as it preys on the hopes of the poor for a magic moment in which all their financial problems will be solved. A writer investigating the numbers racket in the Harlem area of New York states that as much as four million dollars is bet a month. He says: "The numbers remains the game of the slums—the poor man's roulette. Every player knows a story about someone (a friend, or the friend of a friend; or somebody up in the next block) who hit and made the escape to a better life. . . . How else can you live in the slums and buy a dream like that so cheap?"⁸

Favorable Conditions for Growth

It may be true that the gambling passion "lurks at the bottom of every heart." At least the taproot of covetousness, on which gambling feeds, is so deep in the sinful nature of man that its prohibition is one of the ten basic laws of God. However, there must be some explanation for the amazing growth of gambling in our nation in the past few decades. A combination of factors has created an atmosphere in which this activity has mushroomed. Let us examine some of these.

Affluence.—While pockets of poverty do exist among about 20 percent of Americans, most of our nation has a higher standard of living than any nation in history. We are even more affluent than we were in 1958, when Kenneth Galbraith popularized the phrase "Affluent Society." Half of all nonfarm families have incomes above a median figure of seventy-five hundred dollars a

year and one fourth have incomes of more than ten thousand dollars. The availability of money is a major factor in gambling's increase. America's sad experience of the depressed 1930s created a scarcity in which gamblers existed but could not flourish. The America of bread lines and the WPA was not a nation of plush gambling casinos and pleasure flights to Las Vegas. The simultaneous arrival of affluence and the general loosening of morals during World War II signaled the boom of gambling enterprises.

Increased leisure.—Another factor in the gambling problem which churchmen are belatedly noticing is the shift in the amount of leisure time. Robert Lee points out:

Long-term trends indicate that since 1900 there has been an average reduction of four hours in the workweek for each decade. It is a striking fact to note that the working man of a century ago spent some 70 hours per week on the job and lived about 40 years. Today he spends some 40 hours per week at work and can expect to live about 70 years. This adds something like 22 more years of leisure to his life, about 1,500 free hours each year, and a total of 33,000 additional free hours that the man born today has to enjoy.⁹

With the present trend toward the four-day, twenty-hour workweek, a nation with a Puritanic and Calvinistic attitude toward work suddenly finds itself with the possibility of a world of leisure for all rather than for the privileged few. This has created a vacuum now being filled with pleasure-seekers. Increased money and increased time combine to create a bonanza for gamblers. Pleasure-seekers should have their desires fulfilled. If they are willing to pay for it, the casinos and the racetracks are willing to take their money for the illusionary thrill of the possibility of winning more than they lose.

Irresponsible citizenry.—A contributing factor to increased gambling has been the fact that Americans as a people have been immature and irresponsible citizens. This irresponsibility is reflected on election day in the absence of so many voters from the polls.

More directly, it is reflected in the unwillingness of so many

citizens to meet the demands of modern society. Urbanization, automation, and the demands of modern education have combined to place a tremendous load upon government. We have failed to point out the Christian dimension of responsible citizenship, especially in supporting adequate tax programs.

Therefore, legalized gambling is promoted as a tax resource. As one columnist is fond of saying, "The easiest way to pay your taxes is to put two dollars on the nose of a nag." Legalization of the first lottery in the nation in the twentieth century, in the state of New Hampshire, is eloquent testimony of a reluctant citizenship which encourages the growth of gambling.

Irresponsibility in citizenship also creates an apathetic atmosphere in which corruption can grow and crime can flourish. Cynical citizens, who shrug off corruption as inevitable, need to heed the call to responsible Christian citizenship.

Materialism.—The growth of gambling is symptomatic of one of the deepest problems of our culture, and that is materialism. If a man's life really consists of the abundance of the "things" which he possesses, the manner in which he obtains them is immaterial. Materialism may trap the poor as well as the rich. The poverty-stricken may interpret life in terms of things desired, while the rich interpret it in terms of things possessed.

The ultimate in materialism may be seen in the gambling casino. Sociologist Erwin Goffman made a study of the impact of casino life in Las Vegas. He told a national consultation on gambling that one of the key factors attracting men to casinos is release from ordinary social status values. One knows his status in a casino by the size of his roll of cash.

It is distressing that casino values are different in degree rather than in kind from the values of our increasingly materialistic society. A culture which crowns the man of wealth, regardless of how he secured it, has a deeper sickness than the mere presence of an unhealthy activity such as gambling. It has a malady of spirit and soul which needs the healing touch of the Great Physician.

The problem of gambling must find its ultimate solution in a renewal of spiritual values and a rejection of materialism.

Levels of Challenge

The gambling problem belongs to all Americans because it threatens all. It belongs especially to Christians because Christians serve a Christ who cares about anything which victimizes man.

There are four levels of challenge in the gambling problem.

At the level of *containment*, Christians are challenged to use every mechanism of law to bring the highest degree of control on gambling activities. Laws do not work miracles, but laws are designed to keep destructive forces in check. This will require not only making gambling illegal but also assisting those enforcing the law.

At the level of *reclamation*, Christians are challenged to assist in every way possible to restore the victims of gambling to useful living. Four to six million compulsive gamblers and their families suffer the consequences of their addiction.

At the level of *education*, Christians should be informed about the gambling problem and should share that information with an apathetic citizenry. Public support for those attempting to cope with the gambling problem is essential.

At the level of *commitment*, Christians reach the highest plateau of their contribution to the solution of the gambling problem. Commitment to Christ means not only a rejection of the temptation to gamble but also a rejection of the spirit of covetousness which causes men to gamble. Christians should be a part of the ultimate solution as well as the temporary strategies.

NOTES

¹"How Criminals Solve Their Investment Problem," *U. S. News and World Report*, March 30, 1964, p. 76.

²William Dickinson, "Betting: Legal and Illegal." Research paper published by Editorial Research Reports, Congressional Quarterly Service, Vol. 1, No. 20 (May 25, 1960), Washington, D. C.

³Fred J. Cook, "Gambling Treasure Chest of the Underworld," *Nation*, October 22, 1960, p. 384.

⁴Charlotte Olmsted, *Heads I Win, Tails You Lose* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1962), p. 3.

⁴"An Economist Speaks on Gambling," *Baptist Standard*, April, 1961, p. 4.

⁵Cited by Ernest E. Blanche, *You Can't Win* (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1949), p. 11.

⁶See Fred J. Cook, *A Two-Dollar Bet Means Murder* (New York: Dial Press, 1961), pp. 172 f.

⁷Dan Wakefield, "Harlem's Magic Numbers," *The Reporter*, February 4, 1960, p. 25.

⁸*Religion and Leisure in America* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1964), p. 37.

2

Early Beginnings



Games of chance are but the sportive survivals of a more serious practice—the art of divination. In the case of the spinning of the coconut or the blunted arrowhead, used in the art of divination to discover thieves, the transfer to the game of chance was quite simple. The Samoans, for example, ceased to use the coconut spin for its original purpose and came to use it for a game of forfeits and the casting of lots. The primitives came to recognize that much of life around them could be explained in terms of the laws of cause and effect. They were convinced that forces (gods) which had helped them in the serious enterprises of life would not desert them in a game.

Extant historical artifacts indicate that games of chance and gambling paraphernalia date back into antiquity. The Western world and well over half of the nonwestern world are and have been highly addicted to gambling. In ancient China, Japan, Egypt, Persia, Palestine, Greece, Rome, Java, and the Americas, indications of gambling are found.¹ For example, bone dice were in use by the time of Homer. Knucklebones with numbers on four sides were found in Egyptian excavations dating to the eighteenth dynasty, in Indian ruins in the southwestern United States, and in the later ruins of Pompeii. In England dice-playing dates back to the Roman occupation. The Ice Age had hardly disappeared when crude dice were being used in southern France.

A gaming board which was found on Crete dates to 1800 or 1650 B.C.

In the city of Rome gaming tables were discovered in the corridors of the Colosseum. Emperors Augustus, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, and Domitian were passionate devotees of gambling. A Hittite treatise written around 2000 B.C. discussed the feeding and training of race horses. The forerunner of the pinball machine is traced to the ancient Greeks who played a game using stones on a hillside. The Roman street loafers probably played a numbers game paying off on the number of soldiers who came through the gate at dusk. Paton points out that gambling seems to have had its chief hold where the race existed primarily in hunting, pastoral, military, or mercantile type cultures. The peasants who had to work hard for a living were comparatively free from the habit.²

Since 1654, when Chevalier de Méré sought the help of Pascal in solving some of his difficulties in dividing the gains from dice games, mathematicians have given much study to the theory of probability. If history teaches anything, however, it is that people will continue to gamble, even though they are made aware that the odds against them are extremely high.

Gambling threaded its way into the very warp and woof of American life. It came early, although this was hardly necessary since the Indians the white settlers drove out were avid gamblers.

The Lottery

The only form of gambling which ever won widespread approval from almost all of the social classes in America and Europe was the lottery. While rooted in antiquity, it utilized the more modern developments of communication—the post office and the printing press—to great advantage. Because of its importance more extensive treatment will be given it than the other forms of gambling which developed in America.

The lottery was first conducted at Roman parties as a form of amusement for the guests. Free tickets were given to each guest, and later in the evening gifts were distributed to each ticket holder. The first money lottery was held in Florence in the year

1530. By 1569, it had spread to England, being used by the government as a means of raising money. The rules of drawing were as in Roman times. Each ticket holder received a prize. The lottery proved to be very popular, and it was hailed as a painless form of taxation.

Most early American lotteries were of the Dutch type, with one winning ticket on the average to every four drawn, and were operated honestly by private enterprise. Prominent men such as Ben Franklin were organizers of lotteries. They became an integral part of public financing in the colonies, being used by municipalities, churches, public utilities, development companies, and educational institutions. The First Baptist Church of Providence, Rhode Island, erected a building in 1775 with the proceeds of a lottery. The colleges of Harvard, Yale, Dartmouth, and Columbia (Kings) all used lotteries at one point in their history.³

Many evils, however, grew up with the lotteries. Since the lottery offices needed to keep their employees busy in times other than when a lottery was being promoted, they started "little goes" on the side. These were primarily sucker traps, feeding on the poor and servant classes. The greater evil, however, was "insurance" or policy. Essentially, insurance permitted an individual to wager for or against a certain number's being drawn on a certain day. The number could be bet to win, to lose, or to be drawn within a specified time period. Parlays and combinations were available. As the system grew in size it became profitable to attempt rigging the lottery. After repeated attempts to curb insurance failed, many governing bodies required that all lottery draws be completed in one day.⁴

In the year 1832, sixty-six million dollars was spent on lottery tickets in eight states. This was five times the Federal budget for that year.⁵ By 1829, the lottery had become a monster which threatened legitimate business and industry. Often the agents sold tickets and then disappeared. Others sold counterfeit tickets, and many operators in the later period were sharpers.

The last legal lottery company to operate in the United States in the nineteenth century was the Louisiana Lottery Company. It was authorized by the state legislature in 1868 and was given a

twenty-five-year franchise. The company agreed to pay \$40,000 per year for the upkeep of Charity Hospital. Sales were modest at first, but in an effort at renewal of the franchise in 1890, the company offered a premium of \$1,250,000 per year. Ninety-three percent of the lottery sales was coming from outside the state by the year 1870. Most of the expenses of the lottery operation could be paid from the money made in the multitude of policy shops operated in the city of New Orleans.

It was opposition brought on by the pernicious effects upon the poor and the flagrant misuse of political power that finally brought the lottery power to bay in the early 1890s. At points in its history, such as when the legislature ordered the company to cease ticket sales after 1879, what the lottery operators could not buy with judicious contributions to public improvements, or by direct payments to politicians, they apparently had the power to destroy.⁶ Almost a century after it had been made illegal in England, the possibility of operating a widespread lottery in the United States was brought to an end, for all practical purposes, in 1890, when the Post Office Department denied the use of the mails for the sending of lottery materials.

The only form of the lottery which continued to exist on a large scale in the United States was the numbers game or policy. The numbers game primarily has preyed upon the poor. It has most often been characterized by swindle and has left a trail of corruption, since it cannot operate on a large scale for any length of time without protection.

Cards, Dice, and Riverboats

While one wing of the migrating gamblers worked up the Atlantic Coast and inland, another pushed from New Orleans up the Mississippi and Ohio rivers, forming great concentrations in cities like Vicksburg, Memphis, St. Joseph, St. Louis, Kansas City, and Chicago. The card, dice, and banking games, such as faro, craps, and poker, that became so popular in the United States, were all of foreign origin. According to Asbury, faro was the most popular game in the country during the nineteenth century. It was the nucleus upon which the elaborate gambling houses were

built. It was also the first game to allow the introduction of extensive cheating which bred a horde of unprincipled sharpers.⁷

When card games were introduced to America is not known, but it is thought that poker came through New Orleans. It was being extensively played in that city by 1825. The game of craps was also popular by this time, particularly with the lower classes. Card games were fast, and the period of uncertainty between the roll of the dice and the turning of the cards was relatively brief. The outcome of the game was soon known and frequent repetition was possible. This is probably the reason these games became popular in the gambling houses. Some of the other games of importance which enjoyed popularity were: roulette, pitch, monte, keno, three-card monte, hearts, chuck-a-luck, Boston, cassino, and whist. The slot machine, which became a favorite in many areas, was not invented until the late nineteenth century. The pinball machine came into its own in the 1930s.

The legendary riverboat gamblers were the most fabulously dressed men of the era. Immediately prior to the Civil War fortunes were lost to these unprincipled sharpers as they plied their trade on the riverboats and in the ports of call. The professionals who followed the nation westward were not as flashy and are generally credited with more character. The standards on the frontier were rough, particularly in the mining towns, and a gambler's success depended on three items: chance, skill, and a fast draw. Many of these men became the leading citizens in the frontier communities.

Syndication of Gambling

It was not until soon after the Louisiana Purchase that professional gamblers began to make their way in great numbers to New York and the New England area. During the Civil War and after New York had become the gambling capital of the United States, men like John Morrissey, who held close ties with Tammany Hall, and Richard A. Canfield, the last of the famous gambling-house keepers of the nineteenth century, operated very plush halls. Gambling became syndicated in the early twentieth century, and by the roaring twenties had become a cancer in the

vital organs of America. Scarface Al Capone was named public enemy number one in Chicago. Through Tom Pendergast, the gamblers controlled the police department of Kansas City. Frank Costello, Lucky Luciano, and friends were a part of the 1932 Democratic National Convention. In 1938, at a meeting in Atlantic City, the big men decided to quit fighting each other and instead adopted big-business approaches to organized racketeering, parceling out the United States among the Mafia and other mobs.⁸

Horse Racing

Horse racing came into popularity in the days of James I (1603-25) in England. The first permanent race course in America was established on Long Island's Hempstead Plain in the year 1665, even though the South had become the natural center for the development of the American thoroughbred.⁹ The first attempt of a state to regulate horse racing came in 1906, when Kentucky established a state racing commission.

Bookmaking became prominent in the 1860s with the opening of the Saratoga Racetrack in the state of New York. Some states authorized a track bookmaker. The last of these was replaced in 1940, when New York followed the other states in legalizing the pari-mutuel machine.¹⁰ The first completely electric totalizator was built in the United States in 1927 but was not used in America until 1933, when it was installed in Chicago's Arlington Park.¹¹

Off-the-track bookmaking continued to flourish, depending on the wire services for information. By the year 1929, it was estimated that fifteen thousand books were being serviced. By the year 1940, a Philadelphian who had gained control of the wire services was the fifth largest customer of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company.¹² Before people can utilize the service of a bookmaker, information must be available as to what horses are running at which tracks. So such betting is primarily restricted to areas where race information can be obtained.

Attempts to Control Gambling

As gambling dates into antiquity, so do the attempts to control it. At no point in the history of European, Asiatic, or American

society does gambling appear without a corresponding attempt either to control or eliminate it. Much of the early legislation against gambling was something of class legislation. The earliest English statute against gaming in the sixteenth century was designed to keep the working classes away from specific games, but more definitely to prevent the decay of archery, important in defense. The first English law aimed directly at gambling was in the year 1665. From this point on, English laws aimed at discouraging rather than absolutely prohibiting gambling.

While some state and federal codes in the United States make violation of the gambling laws a crime, others have always made some concessions. Enforcement of the laws has been sporadic. Even where and when government officials tried strict enforcement of gambling laws, often public support was lacking.

The social and economic ills which accompany gambling have made it necessary for almost every civilized nation to react with repressive controls. Widespread gambling has always been a threat to legitimate business in that money that would normally be spent for consumer goods is directed elsewhere. This means that where gambling is actively pursued, welfare agencies have much heavier case loads.

Widespread gambling has inevitably led to corruption of public officials and an association between the gambling king and the vice-lords. Dishonesty and fraud have always been integral parts of the gambling house. There were always enough gullible customers of illegal professionals to make the antigaming laws difficult to enforce. Laws legalizing gambling are usually revenue laws. Ultimately it becomes expedient to issue more and more licenses. Antigambling laws, for the most part, have not had as their aim the regulation of private morals but rather the control of a system which exploits human weakness, causing economic and social distress to entire families.¹³

Conclusion

Gambling is no respecter of time, class, country, race, or civilization. When the pervasiveness of gambling in history is noted and traced to the present, one finds it almost necessary to agree with

Romain in his contention that of all the gods of the Pantheon, Fortuna alone refused to abdicate. At no time in history has the goddess lacked a multitude of worshipers, although the sanctuaries and statues were gone. "She was enshrined in the soul—her worship instinctive in the very nature of humanity."¹⁴

NOTES

¹David D. Allen, *The Nature of Gambling* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1952), p. 34.

²J. L. Paton, "Gambling," *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914), VI, 163-64.

³Herbert Asbury, *Sucker's Progress: An Informal History of Gambling in America from the Colonies to Canfield* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1938), pp. 71 ff.

⁴Eric Bender, *Tickets to Fortune* (New York: Modern Age Books, 1938), pp. 54 ff., 100 ff.

⁵Ernest E. Blanche, "Lotteries, Yesterday, and Tomorrow," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 269 (May, 1950), 72.

⁶Bender, *op. cit.*, pp. 135 ff.

⁷Asbury, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

⁸Henry Chafez, *Play the Devil: A History of Gambling in the United States from 1482 to 1955* (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, 1960), pp. 444-45.

⁹John I. Day, "Horse Racing and Pari-Mutuel," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 269 (May, 1950), 55-56.

¹⁰Lewis A. Lawrence, "Bookmaking," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 269 (May, 1950), 47.

¹¹Day, *op. cit.*, 59.

¹²Lawrence, *op. cit.*, 48.

¹³Virgil W. Peterson, "Obstacles to Enforcement of Gambling Laws," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 269 (May, 1950), 18-19.

¹⁴James Harold Romain, *Gambling: or, Fortuna, Her Temple and Shrine* (Chicago: The Craig Press, 1891), pp. 35-36.

3

Biblical Insights



There is no directive from God's Word which imposes the command, "Thou shalt not gamble."

Honesty in interpretation, therefore, puts us on guard against distorting the records. No matter how strong our feeling may be toward a social evil or how right may be our campaign against it, we must handle with honesty and accuracy the evidence from the Scriptures. This caution against unwarranted interpretations of the records leaves no room, however, for the smug view that since the Bible has no direct protest against gambling it contains no relevant insight pertaining to the issue. This writer is committed to the position that the general moral idealism of the Bible and its insistence on obedience to the sovereign will of God are crucial for our examination and assessment of any issue involving human behavior.

In this discussion, we shall examine specific practices and references that relate to gambling and then suggest certain biblical teachings that apply to the problem.

Specific References

Gambling as a form of moral evil or as a method of acquiring money or goods did not trouble the nation of Israel during its early years. The first reference to such gambling occurs in Isaiah 65:11. Apparently the Hebrews in exile were influenced by the

Babylonians, a people who accepted and widely engaged in games of chance. This singular protest of the postexilic prophet needs to be evaluated. Accordingly, we shall return to it later.

In the Gospel records we encounter one instance of gambling, namely that of the Roman soldiers at the time of Jesus' crucifixion. These men "cast lots" or threw dice for the garments of Jesus (cf. Matt. 27:35; Mark 15:24; Luke 23:34; John 19:23-24). Gambling has always had devotees within the ranks of the military! This particular case represents a modified form of gambling, since the soldiers were not risking anything of their own, nor was the owner of the garments participating in a game of chance!

The soldiers, it is said, "cast lots." According to the biblical accounts, a similar device was used by God's own people to decide significant issues or courses of action. Lands were assigned "by lot" (Num. 26:52-56). Leaders were sometimes selected by the same procedure as in the case of Israel's first king, Saul (cf. 1 Sam. 10:20-21), or Judas' successor, Matthias (cf. Acts 1:26). The rotation of priests in office was determined by the lot (cf. 1 Chron. 24:5; Luke 1:9). The priest found the lot helpful in choosing the proper goats for sacrifice (cf. Lev. 16:7-10). The turn of the stone or the sacred dice often fixed the fact of guilt and bared a culprit (cf. Josh. 7:26; 1 Sam. 14:42; Jonah 1:7). It is possible that the Urim and Thummin carried in Israel's ark of the covenant were similar to dice (stones marked "yes" and "no") and were employed to ascertain the will of Yahweh.

Two facts must be kept in mind in the analysis of "lots." First, when this method was used the purpose was to determine God's will in a matter. Israel's religion, with its disdain for witchcraft, necromancy and related magical arts, allowed little room for a worship of fate or a dependence upon chance. Second, the settlement of issues through recourse to lots was eventually discarded by Israel. True, Matthias was chosen by lot (cf. Acts 1:26), but the Christian church probably never employed this method again. Matters thereafter were referred more directly to the Spirit of truth who guided the affairs of the churches.

Biblical religion, with its stress on fidelity toward God and its call to a life of trust, tolerates no cultic worship of luck, no deifica-

tion of chance. Such idolatrous practices introduce irreligious and unethical factors into man's life and outlook. This seems to be the thrust of the postexilic prophet's words as he inveighs against those "who forsake the Lord, who forget my holy mountain, who set a table for Fortune and fill cups of mixed wine for Destiny" (Isa. 65:11, RSV). The deities mentioned here, Fortune and Destiny (Gad and Meni), were the gods of fate, and were symbols of good and ill luck. The prophet's protest was against those Israelites who trusted to chance rather than God. It also involved those who sought a syncretized religion that included both the God of Israel and the gods of luck. The prophet's disclaimer contains an abiding insight: Faith magnifies the providential care of God; the cult of luck menaces such faith.¹ Forms of activity that tip the hat to chance or preserve the worship of luck must therefore be seriously questioned by the religiously motivated individual.

Applicable Teachings

The biblical scholar may shrink from any tendency toward viewing the Scriptures as a book of propositional ethics. It would be equally reprehensible to overlook basic teachings that reflect the mind of God and his authority over our lives. One may grant with good grace that we must understand the biblical message in its original setting and seek through the Spirit's leadership to relate that message to our own time. When this admission has been made, we may proceed to suggest certain teachings that speak to the problem of gambling.

The biblical view of work and property affords no room for the practice of gambling.—The divine command rings clear that man should labor and do his work (cf. Ex. 20:9; Eph. 4:28; 2 Thess. 3:10-12). Work has a functional value: it is rooted in the fact of necessity. It is also based on the creation ordinance. Each man must work. This work must be in keeping with God's intention. The curse pronounced upon the ground, following the Fall, is not a curse upon labor itself but a recognition of the frustration and hardship that may attend man's quest for bread (cf. Gen. 3:17-19; 5:29). Work is related to man's use of the

earth's resources: the able person who refuses to work has no right to eat (cf. 2 Thess. 3:10)! No man is to "sponge" on others!

Work affords the means of sustaining one's life and supporting one's dependents. Idleness, so Paul reasoned, is a form of impiety because it repudiates the divinely appointed way of caring for one's household (cf. 2 Thess. 3:6-12; 1 Tim. 5:8). Particularly reprehensible are those attempts of men to gain property through dishonest or exploitative practices. In the Bible, stealing is severely condemned (cf. Ex. 20:15; Matt. 19:18; Eph. 4:28). Equally condemned is the accumulation of wealth through the exploitation of persons (cf. James 5:1-4). Honest work and honest wages go together, for "the laborer is worthy of his hire." The Lord of the harvest will deal sharply with men who deviate from this basic norm.

Work is related to man's creativity. It is his way of sharing in God's activity in the world. Thus the type of economic employment whereby one gains a living must accord with the purpose of God for men and must form a part of the world's needful work. Some forms of work may be socially and morally degrading and, therefore, inconsistent with the divine intention or with human welfare.

It is through the medium of work that man also expresses his essential being. His work is an unfolding of his inner self. Work adds to his sense of fulfillment and his sense of self-respect. This has relevance for the labor that earns daily bread. It may also apply to man's use of his leisure time. Both the idle poor and the idle rich need help in finding a life filled with purposeful activity.

These biblical teachings set forth a view of work and possessions that checkmates the "something for nothing" philosophy. They encourage honest toil with its social and moral values.

Gambling violates the biblical principle of stewardship with regard to property and its uses.—Wealth and economic goods are not in themselves evil but may be the occasion of sin if the owner acquires them in covetousness and uses them without reference to God's intention.

In the biblical revelation, property and goods are given in trust.

Ultimately all things belong to God (cf. Psalms 24:1; 50:10-12; 1 Cor. 10:26). This principle must undergird our attitude toward and use of possessions. The recognition that God owns all property is the beginning of wisdom. Out of this awareness there arises a fitting response: we give *ourselves* over to him (2 Cor. 8:5). Thus the discharge of stewardship begins in the surrender of self to the sovereign will of God. From that inward capitulation we move to the sober and grateful handling of our stewardship in economic matters (Luke 12:42 f.; Matt. 25:14 f.).

The Bible is no textbook in economics. It does, however, point up divine ownership and indicates certain uses of money or property which are in accord with the intention of God. Thus money may be used to promote human friendship (cf. Luke 16:8 f.), support one's family (Matt. 5:32 f.; 7:9-11; Mark 5:43; 6:37; John 4:8; 13:29; 1 Tim. 5:18), contribute to religious institutions (Matt. 17:24-27), assist human needs (Eph. 4:28; Matt. 25:35-46; Acts 20:35; John 13:29), and share in the work of the state (Matt. 22:21; Rom. 13:7). Such a conscientious handling of one's resources precludes gambling. There is ground for wise investment of one's wealth with a hope for a sensible return (Matt. 25:14 ff.), but this can hardly be used to sanction sharp speculation or gambling risks. The injunction to "lay up treasure in heaven" invites the most careful attitude toward expenditures of any kind (Matt. 6:19-21).

The sovereign rule of God over our lives narrows the range of our loyalties and directs the forms of our behavior.—For one thing, it checks the tendency to worship mammon. Gambling enlarges the materialistic factor to a dominant place. Hence it runs counter to Jesus' flat contention that we cannot at the same time love God and mammon.

An analysis of appeals for legalized gambling indicates that they generally stem from crass materialistic motives. Proponents may plead for freedom and progress, for abundant forms of recreation and entertainment. Sometimes we are urged to capitulate to the inevitable. "People will always gamble," it is said, "so why not legalize it and tax it?" Behind all these arguments lies the economic self-interest of the progambling groups. The main motive is

materialistic gain, with little regard for the moral and social consequences. The so-called economic benefits that allegedly follow an open policy come only to a few persons. They may add to the city or state treasuries, the commercial interests that thrive on increased tourism, and the gambling syndicates that usually weave a web of influence and control over a city's life. The public itself may actually suffer great losses in moral and sociopolitical life.

This deep-seated preoccupation with material gain ignores the biblical warnings against greed and avarice. The love of money becomes the source of all kinds of evil (1 Tim. 6:10). Even the small-time gambler and the occasional bettor contribute to a pattern of greed and the exaltation of mammon. "Beware of covetousness," said Jesus, "for a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth" (Luke 12:15). The insatiable desire for gain, so common in our American culture, often wrecks life, so far as the achievement of its true meaning is concerned. For the essence of life consists in the love of God and neighbor, in friendships, in contentment and gratitude, in peace and creative family experience (cf. 1 Tim. 3:3,8; 2 Peter 2:3,14; Matt. 6:24-34).

The will of God as sovereign authority displaces devotion to false gods such as chance, fate, or "Lady Luck." Life's issues are settled by reference to the Holy Father who rules over persons, time, and events. Critical issues cannot be settled by appeals to chance—by the roll of dice or the turn of a card.

The central moral imperative of the Bible is love, love of God and love of neighbor (Matt. 22:37-40).—Love imposes strong demands upon us at every moment of our existence. It forbids what Emil Brunner once called "moral holidays." Any disposition to limit love to one's brother in Christ may be checked by the word "neighbor," which is broad enough to include all our fellowmen. Love leads us to seek the welfare or "interest" of the other. It does not disregard our own legitimate interests, but it never allows us the luxury of self-interest to the exclusion of the other person's needs (cf. Phil. 2:3-4; Rom. 12:10; 13:10). Love is the royal law, the law of Christ, the principle by which our lives must be regulated (cf. James 2:8; Gal. 6:2; Rom. 14:15).

Herbert Spencer condemned gambling because of its antisocial nature.² Proponents of gambling may read the evidence differently. To them, some forms of gambling seem to promote friendly associations and pleasant relations. Even Bishop Kenneth E. Kirk, assuming the role of a "devil's associate," draws a distinction between moderate and excessive gambling, and wonders whether we can label the former as wholly wrong. He does, however, acknowledge that the Christian must raise three serious questions concerning his participation therein:

1. Am I certain that no moral danger either to myself or to my immediate neighbors and friends is involved in my gambling?
2. Am I certain that it will bring no 'scandal' to the church?
3. Am I morally convinced that my example will contribute nothing to the maintenance of a practice admittedly dangerous to society as a whole?³

These questions may grow out of a prudential morality, but they are also inquiries that love raises. Love will not permit a course of action that mistreats or exploits others. Love tolerates no denials of a brotherly relationship. What does gambling do, for example, to compassion and that "other-interest" which form a significant aspect of brotherhood? Love is surely violated when one man's personal pleasure is gained at another man's pain and loss. J. L. Paton pointedly declares, "In an atmosphere of brotherhood, no form of gambling could exist."⁴ Love requires that we recognize and attempt to meet the needs of others. Gambling, with its will to exploit others, vitiates the nobler powers of man, among which are reason, compassion, the sense of responsibility, and justice. Thus gambling weakens the foundations of a worthy community life. Love's work, on the other hand, is always to build up, never to tear down.

The biblical teaching urges that the individual both guard and wisely use his influence.—We are enjoined to "abstain from all appearance of evil" (1 Thess. 5:22; Rom. 12:9) and to work energetically for every form of goodness. Paul's view that freedom must be exercised responsibly and with a special care for the weaker, more immature brother seems particularly relevant here.

Thus the strong man who has no problem of conscience concerning meats or two-dollar bets needs to avoid giving offense to the scrupulous brother or, for that matter, to the man outside of Christ (cf. Rom. 14:13-21; 1 Cor. 1:25-33; 8:1-13). The actions of the individual Christian must be disciplined toward the moral and spiritual welfare of the man for whom Christ died. All forms of conduct need to pay heed to a controlling motive: "Do all to the glory of God" (1 Cor. 10:31).

Accordingly, our influence must be exerted in a positive and aggressive fashion for the building of a community life in which the young and the weak are protected. Influence is not something to be sheltered! It ought to be used for the incorporation of Christian values in the communal life, for influence refers to the impact of one person upon others. The power of human personality to produce certain effects in others may be exercised through moral suasion, appeals to moral law, and through attempts to establish the common good. Influence at its best may mean a moral force at work to protest evil or to work diligently for good. To implement moral ideals, the Christian may strive for corrective action through laws. After all, the biblical teaching discloses that the strong arm of the law, as embodied in the state and its agents, should be directed toward the doing of God's will (cf. Rom. 13:1-4).

Christianity at the biblical roots is concerned with a new man, a being created through the power of God. This new person reflects a style of life that is molded by the Spirit, instructed by the "mind of Christ," and nurtured within the fellowship of God's people. At the same time, the New Testament realistically cautions us against the pull of the flesh, the attractiveness of the world's fashions, and the wiles of the devil himself. This is clearly seen in the writings of the apostle Paul who never showed any timidity about specifying patterns of behavior and attitudes of mind that contradicted the will of God for his children. Christians are called to that higher righteousness which appeared first in Jesus Christ. This ideal challenges us at every moment.

Throughout the New Testament there is a structure of moral thought that lays upon Christians the obligation to live above the

trivial and immoral ways of the world. This strong demand cannot be set aside by the individual except at his own moral peril. As in the case of many other contemporary issues, we can marshal no proof texts, pro or con, to settle the matter. We must find our guidance to behavior through a reference to the general moral insight discernible in the biblical revelation and communicated to us by the Spirit of truth. The fact that some people disregard this source of guidance should not deflect the serious person who is inclined to accept the authority of the Word of God for his own life.

NOTES

¹See James Muilenburg and Henry Sloane Coffin, "Isaiah," *Interpreter's Bible* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1956), V, 751-52.

²J. L. Paton, "Gambling," *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. James Hastings (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951) V, 166.

³*Conscience and Its Problems* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1948), pp. 306 ff.

⁴*Op. cit.*, 166.

4

The Extent of Gambling Today



Fifty-seven percent of the adults in this country will admit to engaging in gambling. Since 1949, the number of paid admissions to racetracks and the total sums bet have more than doubled. In the same period the revenues of the legalized gambling establishments in Nevada have increased fivefold.¹

The amount of money gambled each year is twice the amount spent on medical care. Moreover, the ten billion dollars retained by professional gamblers as profit is twice the total expenditure for all religious and welfare activities. It is also twice the amount spent on all private research and education, and it is 20 percent more than the combined net profits of the hundred largest manufacturing concerns in this country.²

The man who throws fifty cents into the office pool and places a bet on the outcome of next Saturday's football game between State University and Ivy College hopes to win the jackpot. He probably has never thought that he is a part of a network of practices which has seen intercollegiate athletics marred by scandals of score fixings, point shavings, and "thrown" games.

In other actions people become involved in gambling. Chances are sold on a car at a church fair. A civic club sponsors a cake-walk at a neighborhood bazaar. The elevator operator in a high-rise office building doubles as a bookie taking bets on the numbers game. A variety store operates pinball machines and punchboards,

and the word gets around among the grade school crowd when someone wins a prize. A salesman is given a week in Nevada as a bonus by his company, and he spends his time and money in the largest gambling casino in Reno.

People gamble! Some engage in semiprivate wagering. Some gamble legally. Many gamble illegally. An increasing number gamble compulsively and addictively. There is now an organization called Gambler's Anonymous which is seeking to help compulsive gamblers to stop gambling. Of the more than fifty million adults who gamble, it is estimated that seven million are compulsive gamblers.³

Gambling is a many-sided phenomenon. Some people regard their participation in it as a harmless form of amusement. To professionals in the field, gambling is big business. To legislators and the tax-paying public, it is either a law enforcement problem or a source of revenue. Many regard gambling as a vice. Gambling syndicates and crime syndicates have been shown to be connected. The payment of money to law enforcement officers for protection of gamblers is a widespread occurrence. A study by a federal investigative committee several years ago estimated that four and one-half billion dollars pass each year from illegal gamblers to public officials. This is more than five hundred thousand dollars per hour.⁴ Gambling reaches into families as it becomes the occasion for frequent misappropriation of funds needed for such basic items as food and shelter. Persons who are economically very poor are often further impoverished by their heavy gambling losses.

Specific Activities

To gain a picture of the nature and extent of gambling in the United States today, look at seven major ways in which it occurs.

Racetrack betting.—Approximately fifty million persons go to the tracks each year. Attendance at horse races is twice that at ball games.

Twenty-four states permit pari-mutuel betting at the tracks. In this form of gambling, all bets are registered on an automatic totalizator. The official odds are computed, the track and the

state's percentages are "skimmed" from the top of the earnings, and the remainder is divided among the winners. In legal horse betting, the track and the state government may retain as their "take" as much as 15 to 22 percent of the total bets. Consequently, when the odds on a particular race are 10 to 1, the actual payoff may be only 8 to 1.⁵ Individuals bet more than \$3,500,000,000 per year at the horse racetracks, for a daily average of more than seventy-five dollars per person in attendance.

Illegal off-track betting is more appealing to many because no percentage of the winnings is paid to the track or to the state. However, the odds against the bettor are usually greater than in on-track betting. Nevertheless, it is estimated that off-track bets placed with bookies amount to four to five times the incidence of such betting at the tracks.⁶ This means that an additional twelve to fifteen billion dollars are bet with bookies each year. An inquiry into bookmaking activity in New York in 1959 disclosed that 42 percent of the bookies' business was from horse racing.⁷

Betting on races is a very popular activity, as these statistics reveal. Widespread promotion of these events occurs. Many who bet on races follow the events from one locale to another. Men and women bet on races, as do the economically well-to-do and the not-so-affluent. Persons of wealth and leisure, including actors and other artists, are frequently among the bettors.

Sports events.—Amateur and professional sports activities—baseball, boxing, football, basketball, hockey, and golf—afford opportunities for betting. Sometimes such betting is on a semiprivate or informal basis among friends or business associates. Increasingly, however, the professional gamblers are dominating the picture.

Each baseball season is marked by the placing of forty or fifty million dollars with bookies. According to one governmental investigation, parlay bosses retain eighty cents of each dollar bet with them.⁸

Football season is the time when, on a typical weekend of college and professional games, fifty to sixty million dollars are bet. Football pools, in which it is the bettor's task to choose the winners in three or more games, have become very popular. According to one expert, such pools amount to near-larceny, with

the promoters receiving a minimum profit of 53 percent and a maximum of 92 percent profit.⁹

Basketball, an increasingly popular sport, has received unfavorable publicity during the past fifteen years because of the involvement of well-known college players in "fixing" contests, "throwing" games, and "shaving" points. The Associated Press reports that in a little more than a ten-year period nearly one hundred players from fifty colleges have been implicated in basketball scandals.¹⁰ Investigation has revealed that these players have frequently been bribed by professional gamblers.

The American nation has been noted as a sports-minded people. A sense of fair play, based on honest competition and adherence to standards of good sportsmanship, has marked amateur and professional athletics in this nation. Such a tradition stands in sharp contrast with the emerging picture of sports as a means to the end of gambling. Baseball bets net the bookie half again as much as horse-racing bets. Furthermore, it is estimated that football bets placed with bookies are one-third larger than horse-racing bets.¹¹

The numbers game.—Policy, or the numbers game, sometimes called the poor man's favorite gambling enterprise, is a flourishing activity. In spite of the fact that it is illegal, approximately five billion dollars are bet each year, usually in small amounts. A three-digit number between 000 and 999 is purchased by the bettor. This number, in some winning combination, is the last three digits of some official figure which is published in the daily newspapers. The number may be the last three figures of the balance in the United States Treasury, a local or regional monetary clearinghouse statistic, a pari-mutuel total from a racetrack, or some other publicized figure.

Each bet placed entitles the bettor to purchase a number. The amount bet may be as small as a dime. This is one reason why policy is played by the poor, the aged, the widowed, and others of modest means. Shoeshine boys, elevator operators, barbers, and other service personnel sometimes serve as bookies for the numbers game. The desire to strike it rich motivates many people of very meager financial resources to play the policy game with

rigid regularity. A winner should, theoretically, receive a return of 1,000 to 1 for each ticket, but the policy operator may pay only 500 or 400 to 1.¹²

The numbers game is a highly organized operation in each city. There are the runners or agents who place the bets, the controller, and the "bank" with a staff of accountants, lawyers, and other salaried personnel. This illegal activity could not continue to flourish without police protection. The persistence of the routine, day by day, and the interpersonal involvement accompanying it, make it impossible for the racket to survive without the knowledge and cooperation of law enforcement personnel.

In Richmond, Virginia, in March, 1960, federal authorities uncovered a numbers operator who had averaged two and two-tenths million dollars in bets over a four-year period. Testimony given before a federal grand jury disclosed that Richmond policemen were being paid up to five thousand dollars per month to let the numbers bookie operate. More than a fourth of the Richmond police force was subpoenaed, of whom more than half reportedly claimed the privilege of the Fifth Amendment against possible self-incrimination and declined to testify.¹³

In Miami, Florida, in the winter of 1960, the mayor launched a probe of a one hundred thousand-dollar Bolita operation. Bolita is a form of numbers play, based on nickel and dime bets. Nevertheless, in the city of Miami it was grossing more than five million dollars per year. The mayor charged that 10 percent of the proceeds was going for police protection.¹⁴

Bingo.—This form of gambling has been declared legal in eleven states. Ironically, at least one state legalized bingo "for religious and charitable purposes."¹⁵ States with legalized bingo include New York, New Jersey, Nevada, Vermont, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Minnesota, Maine, Maryland, and Alaska.

Seventeen million people play bingo. The game consists in determining which player can first line up a series of five random numbers in a winning pattern on a card purchased for play from the operators of the game. Sponsoring agents of legal bingo are fraternal and veterans' organizations and some church groups. In

legal bingo the operators retain about 34 percent of the proceeds.¹⁶

Illegal bingo is a major gambling practice. Prizes returned in illegal bingo are thought to be no more than 50 percent of the proceeds. It is relatively easy for the operator to place in the crowd a representative of the organization and to call numbers needed for this individual to retain the prizes for the organization.

It is possible for an individual to lose money fast by playing bingo. At best the odds are three to two, or sixty-six cents back for the average dollar. The amount lost by players is dramatized in the fact that in New York State, after all prizes and expenses were paid, sponsoring organizations retained over forty million dollars during the first four years of legalized bingo.¹⁷

Lotteries.—One of the oldest forms of gambling in the English-speaking world is the lottery. Tickets purchased bear numbers. Slips or lots bearing the same numbers are retained by the lottery operator. At the appointed time lots are drawn from a wheel, and prizes are distributed to holders of winning numbers. The lure of big prizes from small investments makes lotteries especially attractive to persons with moderate incomes. However, the odds against winning are very great.

Lottery tickets or payments for lottery tickets may not legally be sent through the mails today. Lotteries exist, however. In 1962, a raid on a Chicago establishment resulted in the seizure by Federal agents and Chicago policemen of punchboard games, Christmas sweepstake tickets, and other gambling materials.

In 1963, the state of New Hampshire authorized the first legal lottery in the United States since the demise of the Louisiana Lottery in 1890. A \$3.00 sweepstakes ticket may be purchased twice during the year. The first year's operation (1964) witnessed a sale of tickets amounting to \$5,730,093. Winners were paid a total of 1.7 million dollars in prizes. After Federal taxes and all other expenses were paid, approximately two and one-half million dollars was available for the New Hampshire school system.¹⁸

The New Hampshire lottery is being viewed with considerable interest by other states. In November, 1964, proposals for legalizing gambling were submitted to voters in Arkansas, California, and Washington. In all three states the voters said no.

Altogether there have been over thirteen hundred legal lotteries in the United States.¹⁹ After an objective and penetrating study, Ezell concludes that the history of lotteries in the United States reveals that they cost more than they bring in "if their total impact on society is reckoned"; and, further, that "the most careful supervision cannot eradicate the inevitable abuses in a system particularly susceptible to fraud."²⁰

Slot machines.—The player inserts a coin in a slot. In this way one of the most ruthless forms of gambling is set in action. If the player has a winning combination, he gets back from two to two hundred coins. The machines can be adjusted to keep whatever amount the proprietor wishes. Usual returns range from 60 to 90 percent. When the machine is adjusted for a generous payment, the jackpot combination appears only one time in about four thousand spins.²¹

Slot machines are illegal in all but five states. These "one-armed bandits" provide in excess of a six hundred million-dollar profit annually for their proprietors. They are particularly tempting to compulsive gamblers and to petty gamblers who feed their insatiable "appetites" with a steady stream of nickels and quarters. In Reno and Las Vegas, where every casino has its slot machines, middle-aged women are the most compulsive players.²²

In the more reputable Las Vegas casinos the machines are set to give the "house" a steady 6 percent of all the cash gambled. However, it is not unheard of for a machine to be rigged "in more larcenous establishments" to keep as much as 85 percent of the money played, thus returning only 15 percent to the "lucky" players!²³

Dice and card games.—Among friends, games may be played without stakes. However, many such games are operated by professional syndicates. When this is the case, the player has the disadvantage of paying the operator's odds. At their honest best these odds may take as little as 6 percent of the amount of the wager at blackjack or twenty-one.

The ways in which dice games can be controlled by professionals are numerous. For example, metal-loaded dice and magnetized tables may be used. "Loaded" dice which are weighted

to show certain numbers more often may also be used. Professionals usually do not roll the dice themselves. Instead, they bet against the roller. Of course, being professionals, they are successful in their betting. Card and dice games attract women, young people, and children, as well as men.²⁴

Conclusion

In a society in which pluralistic values adjudge gambling both "legal" and "illegal," it is not possible to get *all* the facts or to give a completely detailed portrayal of the problem of gambling in America today. What has been seen is not a pretty picture, however. Gambling is at an all-time high.

NOTES

¹Gordon H. Cole and Sidney Margolius, *When You Gamble—You Risk More Than Your Money*, Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 354, January, 1964, pp. 1-2.

²*Ibid.*

³Lycurgus M. Starkey, Jr., *Money, Mania, and Morals: the Churches and Gambling* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1964), p. 72.

⁴Alvin J. T. Zumbrun, "Maryland: A Law-Enforcement Dilemma," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 347 (May, 1963), 59.

⁵Cole and Margolius, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5.

⁶Fred C. Cook, *A Two-Dollar Bet Means Murder* (New York: The Dial Press, 1961), p. 10.

⁷Eliot H. Lumbard, "Local and State Action Against Organized Crime," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 347 (May, 1963), 90.

⁸Starkey, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

⁹Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

¹⁰Cole and Margolius, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

¹¹Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

¹²Starkey, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

¹³Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

¹⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁵Virgil W. Peterson, "A Look at Legalized Gambling," *The Christian Century*, LXXXII, No. 21 (May 26, 1965), 676.

¹⁶Starkey, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

¹⁷Cole and Margolius, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.

¹⁸"How New Hampshire's Lottery Worked Out," *U. S. News and World Report*, Vol. 57, No. 13 (September 28, 1964), 16.

¹⁹John Samuel Ezell, *Fortune's Merry Wheel: the Lottery in America* (Cambridge, Mass.; Harvard University Press, 1960), p. 280.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 281.

²¹Cole and Margolius, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

²²Charlotte Olmsted, *Heads I Win, Tails You Lose* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1962), p. 60.

²³Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

²⁴Cole and Margolius, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.

5

Sociological Factors



To enlarge the basis for understanding the problem of gambling, it is appropriate to analyze the sociological factors involved. What is the impact of gambling on the total social structure? In what kind of social milieu does gambling flourish?

Factors Involved

Environment.—The influence of the social environment is most important in bringing about change in a particular aspect of a social system, or in contributing to a static condition. Both the resistance and impetus to change are imbedded within the environment. An understanding of these conditions is vital if approaches to the social problem of gambling are to be made, for, as Lycurgus M. Starkey, Jr., reminds us, "No solution for gambling corruption in a society may be found which ignores society's provocation of gambling."¹ It is assumed, therefore, that there is a process of interaction at work in which the social structure affects gambling and gambling affects the social structure.

The people.—To understand any institution in relation to the social structure in which it operates, it is necessary to know something about the people who are involved.

From all available information it seems obvious that people from all levels of American life engage in gambling. The forms of gambling in which they engage may vary widely, however. The

lower socioeconomic group may seem more apt to engage in gambling through lotteries, punchboards, slot machines, the numbers game, or illegal betting through a "bookie." The middle and upper socioeconomic groups may engage in the same types but likely will also bet on horse races at the track, sporting events, and various types of card games. The card games many times may be of the private variety, or in the card rooms in clubs, but in states where legal gambling exists the games may be in the casino.

Gambling exists in every community of any size, and it may be spread rather generously throughout the community. In certain places, however, it may be more highly concentrated and, therefore, more greatly affect the total life of an area. This is true wherever gambling has been legalized and thereby attracts the public or when illegal operations have become well enough known to attract sizable numbers of persons. When such concentration occurs, professional gamblers may be found, and in these areas the social problems will multiply. Drunkenness, vagrancy, prostitution, lewdness, disorderly conduct, and similar crimes generally result. Organized crime may rule the day with the professional in the saddle. And so, Starkey contends, "The story could be continued about the corruption of the entire communities by the criminal elements which operate through legal and illegal gambling—Beaumont, Texas; Phenix City, Alabama; Newport, Kentucky; not to speak of 'crime's fifty-first state, New York City.'"²

Take a closer look at one such "sin city," Newport, Kentucky.³ It first earned such reputation during the Civil War when it flourished with illegal gambling, casinos, and prostitution, drawing customers from the Union troops quartered across the river in nearby Cincinnati. For a century it maintained the reputation. Then political reform changed the day in 1962. All through the years, patrons came from outside the immediate city in large numbers. Indeed, one of the attractions of Cincinnati as a convention city was that open vice was only a short taxicab ride away.

Professional gamblers moved in early, but the situation grew much worse in the 1940s. Gambling syndicates from Cleveland and New York operated out of Newport. Political corruption

followed and the life of the city and entire county was greatly affected by it. Reform movements always failed, frequently giving up when faced with threats or rough play. More of this may be noted later. The point here simply is the tremendous influence gambling, all of an illegal nature but operating quite openly, had upon a city and a much larger region.

Another case to illustrate the point might be the same type of social influence coming from a state where gambling is legal. The story of Lake Tahoe, Nevada, reveals the transformations of a quiet, countryside summer resort to a year-round thriving city, fed by legal gambling and accompanying crime. The story, as told by Keith Monroe in an article titled "The New Gambling King and the Social Scientists" describes the transformation.⁴

It is the story of William Harrah, classified as "America's biggest professional gambler" in 1962, and how he used sociological and psychiatric research to promote his gambling casinos in Nevada. He provided a bus network to thirty-one nearby cities, mostly across the state line in California. He spent \$450,000 on advertisements, offering special rates on round trips to Lake Tahoe. The price of the bus ticket was nominal and usually adjusted according to season and demand, and generally was refundable the moment the rider walked into one of Harrah's clubs.

Harrah's appeal was beamed to the middle and lower socio-economic classes, the kind of people the surveys found rode buses. He advertised entertainment, not gambling, and he engaged "name" stars to attract the customers. He provided window displays and sound on the sidewalks so that passersby were enticed. He changed the club rooms from dark, smoke-filled rooms into airy, antiseptic halls where customers were treated politely. The study made by the Stanford Research Institute in 1957 on "Factors Influencing Bus Scheduling," had described the people who use buses as "elderly, in a low occupational status, unmarried, a renter rather than homeowner, and without a car."⁵ These people came to Lake Tahoe on the outings and, for many of them, the trip became a regular part of their way of life. Before Harrah came to Tahoe there were ten motels, but by 1962 there were 376. The initial investment is reported to have cost Harrah \$2,500,000, with a

continued daily maintenance cost of \$85,000. In 1962, however, the Harrah enterprise was reported to be hauling to the bank in armoured trucks \$40,000,000 a year, mostly in silver and small bills, taken from middle- and lower-class people who rode buses. One advantage of it all, aside from the economic gain, was that once the "tourist" had been relieved of his money, he had his round-trip ticket back home where his sorrow and poverty could be shared, not by the gambler, but by the people in the home state. Again it is observed how gambling may have a measurable social impact upon a territory much wider than the city in which it occurs.

Gambling—Legal vs. Illegal

Illegal "open" gambling, appealing to all types and classes of people, is rare. Many of the "open sin cities" have been closed, and with their closing the social life of the cities has been strengthened. War against illegal gambling must be continued if crime and corruption are to be controlled. Legalization of gambling is not the answer, however.

Virgil W. Peterson has pointed out that law enforcement problems multiply wherever attempts are made to liberalize the anti-gambling statutes.⁶ He cited cases in Montana, Idaho, and Massachusetts to document his contention. In each instance it was necessary to repeal the more liberal laws and to modify the practice. Similar experiments were made in California and Minnesota and both states found it best to suppress gambling for the sake of a healthy social environment.⁷

The nation will watch with interest the recently sanctioned lotteries in New Hampshire. Already reports would indicate a tremendous impact upon the social environment, an impact which in time may show tragic results. In the *New York Times*, September 4, 1964, preparation for the first drawing was reported as follows:

They are pouring into this town [Salem] by the thousands each day to buy tickets (\$6 million worth at \$3 each). From the teenage waitress . . . to a jockey's wife . . . Salem is in a tizzy of anticipation.

Its normal population of about 15,000 has ballooned to a transient 25,000. . . . A janitor has shown up each week to buy hundreds of tickets on behalf of friends and others who commissioned him to represent them.

When the long, bitter, and tragic history of the Louisiana Lottery is recalled, one cannot help but feel that New Hampshire is in for similar trouble.

The best existing illustration of the impact of legalized gambling upon the social structure of an entire state is found in Nevada. Although political corruption has been controlled, gambling has been called a "parasite here to stay." Joseph F. McDonald, then an editor in Reno, wrote in 1950 that the relief burden for the Red Cross, the Salvation Army, and other social agencies had been increased because people came to Nevada, lost all their money, and became destitute. He declared that thinking people in Nevada recognized that gambling was a "wasteful, nonproductive business with absolutely no moral basis for existence," but that it "is here to stay." When asked why, he answered: "The whole thing has worked into the state's economic and business life to such an extent that it would be difficult to repeal the law unless there were shootings and gangland activities."⁸

The *New York Times* quotes former President Truman as saying in an Idaho political campaign: "If you want to be like Nevada, that's your business. Nevada is the only black spot on the United States continent. . . . Legalized gambling is the worst thing in the world. I don't believe in it. Too many people have jumped out of windows because of Nevada. It is a fever."⁹

Now there are other black spots in our nation, but Mr. Truman spoke the truth about legalized gambling and its contribution to the social blight of a state. The records show that Reno, in proportion to size, has the highest crime rate of any city in the United States. She has four times as many policemen as the average American city of comparable population and twice the number of suicides.

From the standpoint of the social structure, legal gambling makes its contribution, but it is not one that is welcomed by those who seek to improve the social order.

Politics and Gambling

All careful studies on gambling point out frequent incidents of political corruption. This was discovered and documented by the Senate Crime Investigating Committee which functioned under the chairmanship of the late Senator Estes Kefauver. In the report to the Senate, the committee commented: "In states where gambling is illegal, this alliance of gamblers, gangsters, and government will yield to the spotlight of publicity and the pressure of public opinion, but where gambling receives a cloak of respectability through legalization, there is no weapon which can be used to keep the gamblers and their money out of politics."¹⁰

Gamblers are always anxious to have friendly administrations in offices and may contribute generously both of cash and workers to campaigns of one they feel will be friendly. When these conditions exist, it is not surprising to find gambling bosses possessing a great deal of political power, both before and after elections. Their wishes are considered in the selection of candidates. If these candidates are then successful, lenient attitudes toward gambling offenses may prevail. Many police departments are reported to have been dominated by gamblers, even to the point of the selection of the head of the department.¹¹

Sometimes the gamblers may become involved only after the administration or law enforcement officers have become corrupted. Many officers have been known to offer protection to the gambler for a price. The "payoff" price sometimes becomes exorbitant and gamblers complain that "illegal gambling is *police business instead of bookie business*."¹²

Wherever conditions like these exist, it is small wonder that political reform is so difficult to realize. Again the story of Newport, Kentucky, is a case in point. Once the gamblers have established a stronghold in a city, they will resort to almost anything to maintain it. At Newport, reform candidates and ministers who supported the reform were framed, embarrassed, and had their reputations seriously threatened.¹³ Such a campaign becomes most difficult for the families of such candidates and the pressure usually becomes too great to bear. Few men are willing to pay the

price, and most reform movements, therefore, end in failure. Only when reform candidates refuse to give up, and wage an aggressive and skilful campaign, are they able to win.

Social Norms and Gambling

The cliché of the French criminologist, "Societies have the criminals they deserve," surely applies to the problem of gambling in America. Our social norms, as was implied earlier, clearly allow for gambling. Alson J. Smith contrasts attitudes and concludes that the average, middle-class American accepts social wagering at the bridge table, golf course, or racetrack but opposes big gambling in a casino.¹⁴ Social gambling for small stakes they do not see as wrong, but obsessive gambling they view as immoral and harmful.

Allen recognizes the same conclusion, remarking that public opinion in the United States has been very capricious. "In the abstract," he says, "it supports antigambling laws, but in the concrete, it negates them."¹⁵

The general public fails to recognize that an easy social acceptance of gambling contributes to its rapid increase. Apparently gambling can gradually become quite obsessive before the individual realizes what has happened. For some, to win leads to repeated efforts to win more. For some, to lose causes them to continue to try in order to regain the loss. Records show that whenever gambling is legalized, the volume of gambling multiplies. A good example is what happened in England when the Betting and Gaming Act of 1960 was passed. Research in 1963 showed that the volume of gambling had increased fourfold, thousands of citizens had been attracted to gambling activities for the first time, and the increase had been greatest in the lowest income stratum.¹⁶ A similar type of increase is indicated above in the account of gambling at Lake Tahoe, Nevada.

Public apathy is the friend of the gambler. On the other hand, when society becomes outraged and demands change and reform, gambling is greatly curtailed. Shifts in opinion depend a great deal on local conditions. While New Hampshire legalized lotteries, both California and Arkansas voters rejected proposals per-

mitting legalized gambling. "Antigambling statements in both of Little Rock's newspapers, articles in church papers, and full-page ads sponsored by businessmen all helped to create a climate against the gambling amendment."¹⁷

The power of the influence of organized society should be well known. If Phenix City, Alabama, and Newport, Kentucky, can throw out corruption and gambling, it can happen in other places, too, when the citizenry acts.

NOTES

¹*Money, Mania, and Morals: the Churches and Gambling* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1964), p. 63.

²*Ibid.*, p. 55.

³Bill Davidson, "The Great Kentucky Scandal," *Look Magazine*, October 24, 1961, pp. 88-97.

⁴*Harper's Magazine*, Vol. 224 (January, 1962), 35-41.

⁵Quoted in *ibid.*, 38.

⁶"Obstacles to Enforcement of Gambling Laws," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 269 (May, 1950), p. 16.

⁷Paul S. Deland, "The Facilitation of Gambling, in *ibid.*, p. 27.

⁸Joseph F. McDonald, "Gambling in Nevada," in *ibid.*, p. 33.

⁹As quoted in Starkey, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

¹⁰Estes Kefauver, *Crime in America* (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1951), p. 126.

¹¹Peterson, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

¹²Starkey, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

¹³Davidson, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-97.

¹⁴"The Churches and Gambling," *The Christian Century*, LXXVI, No. 17 (April 29, 1959), 512-13.

¹⁵*Op. cit.*, p. 169.

¹⁶Virgil W. Peterson, "A Look at Legalized Gambling," *The Christian Century*, LXXXII, No. 21 (May 26, 1965), p. 678.

¹⁷Erwin L. McDonald (ed.), *Arkansas Baptist*, as quoted in Baptist Press Release, 1964.

6

Psychological Aspects



By nature, man is an avid adventurer. He likes the excitement of a contest. He likes to take chances. Thus have come great discoveries and great advances in every realm of life. However, this daring adventurous spirit may be misdirected. An understanding of the nature of man is essential to an understanding of the psychological aspects of gambling. Everyone may be viewed as a potential gambler.

Everyone desires to be a success, and it is probable that at times each has dreamed of being wealthy. The venturesome spirit which has led some to seek and gain wealth in ethically acceptable ways has led others to throw off all moral restraints and worship wholeheartedly at the shrine of the "Goddess of Fortune."

"The desire to obtain 'something for nothing' is present in most people. It constitutes a strong urge in many, and an all-consuming passion in others"¹

Surveys of gambling casinos have indicated that gambling cuts across all social, economic, and intellectual lines.² Psychiatrist Edmund Bergler states that "big shots and wage earners, people from protected homes sent to exclusive schools, and children left to themselves—all march in the great army of money neurosis division of gambling."³ He explains this by indicating that the psychological roots of gambling reach far back to neurotic beginnings in childhood.

The limited scope of this brief study needs to be noted. We shall not deal with the evils of organized gambling, but rather with the phenomenon of gambling and the motivation of the gambler.

Motivation

What is the basic nature of gambling as it relates to the human personality? We shall not understand the gambler, nor can we deal with him adequately, until we understand what prompts him to gamble.

Personified luck.—"Tomorrow I will win" is, according to Bergler, the gambler's psychology. "The gambler is fanatically optimistic in his conviction that he and the million to which he aspires are only a few inches apart. 'Just give me time and a little money,' he says confidently, 'and I'll make it.'"⁴

Gereon Zimmermann, senior editor of *Look Magazine*, says that "most gambling is an unreasoned primitive plea for Dame Fortune's favors."⁵ Another has said that the gambling impulse is "a belief in personified luck."⁶ A Phoenix, Arizona, gambler is quoted as saying, "Gambling lives on faith. We gamble because we believe we are lucky, or will be lucky, or can be lucky."⁷ Gamblers are fanatics in their belief in ultimate success. Therefore, they are unmoved by logical argument. Rosanoff refers to the gambling impulse as a "mystic faith in luck." He states that people gamble "because the chance of gain exists . . . under the influence of a strong emotional bias engendering the familiar wish-fulfillment type of thinking."⁸

Pleasurable escape.—Many people in Las Vegas gambling houses state that they are there simply for the fun of it. Gladwin Hill, of the *New York Times*, says, "Buttonhole people at random amid the clangor of the ubiquitous slot machines and the round-the-clock drone of crap table attendants, and you will find that the almost unvarying response to the question, 'Why do you gamble?' is a rather surprised 'Why, for the fun of it.'"⁹ He is careful to indicate, however, that "fun" has a number of meanings in the Las Vegas lexicon.

Many people undoubtedly use gambling to break the monotony

of the life they are living. "Bets, entered into with or without anticipation of winning, serve to break monotony because they are exciting."¹⁰ Interest in many different kinds of events is heightened to a state of suspense by betting on the outcome. Gambling is thus used to create or increase interest in events. Some feel that "risk in moderation acts as a mental stimulant, and much of the fun of life comes from the presence of the unexpected."¹¹

Ecstatic tension.—Nicholas Dandolos, called "Nick the Greek," a career gambler for over forty years, is quoted as having said that "the main thing is the play."¹² He was speaking of the excitement that is derived from merely watching the ebb and flow of chance. The gambler seeks, finds, and enjoys excitement whether he wins or loses. In contrast to the idea of excitement, one businessman on the way to the races said, "I bet three races and go home. I find betting relaxing."

It becomes increasingly clear that many gamblers are not really after money. Zimmermann says that "the gambler chases ecstasy, not money." He concludes, "His triumphant rapture is wondrous, fearful to behold."¹³ Bergler states that the more intelligent gamblers stress the irrational thrill component in gambling. "The thrill of that tension was recognized by Dostoevski, who," Bergler says, "wrote the greatest description of a gambler in literature, *The Gambler*. Dostoevski was himself a pathologic gambler. In one of his letters he confesses: 'The main point is the game itself. On my oath, it is not greed for money, despite the fact that I need money badly.'"¹⁴

Gambling is the ultimate in human experience to many. There is no greater sensation. Every gambler has a risk level which makes him nervous. It is at this point that he finds what is often referred to as "action." It is at this point that the ultimate in excitement is found. One gambler said, "In a big game, you might have a broad around and wink at her, but only for a moment. The *action* is what you are there for."¹⁵

It is well for us to acknowledge that not all gamblers are what Bergler calls "real" gamblers. Gladwin Hill classifies them in two categories, impulsive and compulsive. He states that the difference between the two is "as basic as that between the social

drinker who occasionally gets hilarious at a party, and the full-fledged, decks-awash alcoholic."¹⁶ There are other categories probably less serious than the impulsive gambler. We should not think of "ordinary" gamblers as "diluted compulsive gamblers" who should be dealt with in the same way.

Addiction.—The more serious compulsive gambler merits special attention in this study. Foy Valentine says that "for multitudes of people, gambling has a narcotic effect which leads them ever deeper into the degrading habit of seeking something for nothing."¹⁷ Lloyd Shearer gives a graphic and disturbing picture of people under the narcotic effect of gambling: "It is an amazing, incredible, shocking, unforgettable sight to see dozens of frumpy, middle-aged women shove their way to their favorite slot machines, stand in front of them hour after hour, hopefully emptying their nickels into the one-armed bandits. At times they resemble a group of inmates possessed by the Furies."¹⁸

Gambling as addiction is a concept that some are slow to accept. However, it is the testimony of many that they have been driven by the gambling fever to risk not only money but also public disgrace and even jail. Many medical authorities consider the compulsive gambler to be as sick a personality as the dope addict or the alcoholic. One gambler states the case as follows: "Drug addicts say they have monkeys on their backs. For ten years I had a tiger on mine. I was a gambling addict." He states that compulsive gamblers "are as dangerous to themselves, their families, and their communities as the worst of narcotic addicts."¹⁹

It is estimated that there are now over six million compulsive gamblers in our country, and the number is growing. (Editor's note: Statistics are variable. Some estimate as many as seven million.) A former professional gambler refers to these addicts as the "money people" of gambling. He states that it is the "small" but persistent gambler who keeps the professional in business.

Habitual gambling may grow out of job-related frustration, uncertainty in family or sex life, or financial reverses. Gambling becomes an escape or a compensation for many different personality problems. Appeal is often made at the point of personality

weakness. Bill Harrah, called king of the gambling casinos, states that he has the largest slot machine in the world in the front window. "You know why?" he asks. "Because show-offs like to play that dollar machine. They want the whole world to see them. This," he concludes, "is a business of stimulus and response."²⁰

Grandiose delusions.—Bergler describes the psychology of childhood as the "fiction of omnipotence." The attempt of parents to fulfil a child's every wish is misconstrued by the child as the result of his own omnipotence. The result is an overinflated ego. However, real experience provides deep disappointment for the child as the fiction of omnipotence is destroyed.

Gambling unconsciously revives the childish delusions of grandeur. It denies the reality principle, and the gambler regresses to his childish feeling of omnipotence. Experience has caused him to repress the conviction of his omnipotence, but in gambling "he is not acting like a person who has adapted himself to reality; he is 'ordering' the next card to win for him, in the complete illusion that he is omnipotent."²¹ The gambling addict is possessed by a fanatical faith in infantile megalomania—a fanatical faith in grandiose delusions.

An addictive gambler may even seek punishment through gambling in order to satisfy a guilty conscience. "In the world of unreality he comes to inhabit, the neurotic gambler seeks a solution to all his problems in the fall of a card or the turn of a wheel."²² Some hold that "final addiction takes hold when he has fallen deeply in debt. He then must go back and back, seeking grimly to 'get even.'"²³ However, gambling addiction seems to be more than just a desire or effort to get even.

Compulsive gambling is now considered by medical experts as an illness, indicating serious emotional problems. Edmund Bergler lists the following characteristics, or clinical symptoms, of those whom he calls *real* gamblers:

1. Gambling is a typical, chronic, and repetitive experience in his life.
2. Gambling absorbs all his other interests like a sponge.

3. The gambler is pathologically optimistic about winning and never "learns his lesson" when he loses.

4. The gambler cannot stop when he is winning.

5. No matter how great his initial caution, the true gambler eventually risks more than he can afford.

6. The gambler seeks and enjoys an enigmatic thrill which cannot be logically explained, since it is compounded of as much pain as pleasure.

Thus the title of gambler is reserved for a specific group of neurotics.²⁴

Psychic masochism.—Bergler believes that the gambler is a psychic masochist. By this he means that the gambler unconsciously seeks defeat, humiliation, and pain. The psychic masochist is an "injustice collector." Logically we would conclude that this is not possible, for it is commonly held that everyone seeks pleasure and avoids pain. But Bergler says that this formula is not true, for "it cannot be applied to neurotics, whose unconscious is regulated by irrational factors. And, the most powerful of these subterranean forces is psychic masochism."²⁵

If the compulsive gambler is viewed as a psychic masochist, the conclusion is that he seeks and finds pleasure in displeasure. According to this view, happiness in unhappiness becomes the real dynamic in gambling for the addict. The thrill which he finds in gambling has been described as "pleasurable-painful tension." The gambler always loses, and he views his financial loss as payment for the happiness-in-unhappiness which he finds. Speaking of the tension in gambling, one gambler said, "Yes, I get under tension when I have a winning streak. And the only way you can break that tension is by *losing*."²⁶

Bergler states dogmatically that "psychiatric-psychoanalytic experience proves that the gambler's unconscious aim is to lose."²⁷ If this view is accepted, then it must be concluded that the compulsive gambler is driven on and on, not by a desire to get even, but by an unconscious desire to lose. He can never stop while he is winning, for winning does not satisfy his desire to lose. In the long run he loses and finds his satisfaction, though he would never be conscious of the fact that his desire was to be refused.

After reading Bergler's writings, one may well conclude that he may have become obsessed with the idea of masochistic motivation. This idea is applied to alcoholism and homosexuality along with gambling. He says, "Both alcoholism and the perversion begin, genetically, at the same point of origin as gambling. All three, in my opinion," he says, "are oral neuroses, but their common conflict is in each case differently elaborated."²⁸

Bergler's theory seems to be a convenient oversimplification of rather complex combinations of conditions and motivations which have led to gambling addiction. However, one gambler gives the following interesting testimony:

Most of us like to consider ourselves normal people. There is something evil and dirty about masochism. It never bothered me to be called a gambler—or even a sucker. . . . It would have bothered me if someone had referred to me as "that masochist." The day I faced the fact that it was masochism that underlay my urge to gamble was the day I started to shake it.²⁹

It seems quite possible that the point at which this addict began to shake his problem was when he was willing to recognize that he was a sick man and needed help. It is commonly held that an alcoholic can hardly be helped until he has "hit bottom" with such a realization.

It is possible to recognize the importance of the light which Bergler has thrown upon many cases of gambling addiction without concluding that his diagnosis is the only one possible. It is quite clear that many gamblers are driven by a compulsive desire for status and for wealth. They can hardly be diagnosed as addicts driven by a desire to lose or to be refused. It is, of course, possible simply not to consider them by stating that they are not "real" gamblers.

Starkey reminds us that "the Freudian school of psychoanalysis relates gambling—as nearly everything else abnormal—to some form of sexual perversion."³⁰ In like manner, Bergler seems to relate everything abnormal to psychic masochism.

Escape from reality.—However individual cases may be diagnosed, we need to recognize the seriousness of gambling addiction.

The compulsive gambler is an obsessional neurotic who sees escape from reality through a pleasure experience which he may find either in failure or success.

Starkey says that gambling addicts are "impaled on the twin horns of winning and losing, needing both and unable to stand either." He states further that "beneath all our games of chance may be seen the primitive animistic magic that would determine destiny, or the primordial religion which would wrest some fateful divine disclosure for the future. 'Am I accepted or rejected by the universe?'"³¹ He interprets the motivations of gambling as being basically religious or magical.

Effects

The effects of gambling are many. Along with the social effects, we should be deeply concerned about the effects upon the gambler himself, whether he be neurotic or not. Gambling affects the total life of the individual. It affects the basic orientation of life. It appeals to the weaknesses and the worst that is in man. It develops unchristian traits of character.

Recklessness.—Gambling promotes the "easy come, easy go" philosophy. It is an expression of recklessness. It lacks foresight and is contrary to the idea of stewardship. The gambler is guided by feelings and emotions. Reason and intelligent effort are given up as he becomes a slave of chance. The outcome of pure gambling is dependent entirely upon chance; no skill is involved. Little intelligence and less skill are required to flip a coin, and an intelligent choice of "heads" or "tails" is hardly possible.

Callousness.—Gambling encourages selfishness and develops a growing callousness to the interests and well-being of others. It is almost the exact opposite of Christian sharing and service. It tends to destroy the very motivations to sharing and unselfish service. Selfishness and sharing are incompatible. In place of service, legal order, and worth, gambling establishes selfishness, chance, and luck as a new set of values. Gambling with its new set of values tends to blunt the Christian conscience.

Covetousness.—All gambling contributes to the gambling spirit. This spirit is basically covetousness. Although possibly not true

of some gambling addicts, gamblers seek that which belongs to others and give nothing in return. We are commanded not to covet anything that belongs to another (cf. Ex. 20:17). There should be no question concerning the position of a Christian with regard to such a practice.

Psychiatric Help

The gambling addict is, without question, in need of help. He may need psychiatric treatment, or he may find that informal group therapy provides the help he needs. Such help is available through organizations such as Gamblers Anonymous. It is reported that eight out of ten who join GA eventually stop gambling.³²

Prescribing remorse, regret, and repentance as the remedy for gambling may produce the exact opposite of the result sought. If the addict can be led to see his need and seek help, the chances of his "kicking" the habit may be quite good. If the basic problem is not solved, he may leave gambling but simply turn to some other addiction in his effort to escape reality.

NOTES

¹Morris Ploscowe and Edwin J. Lukas (eds.), *Gambling* (Philadelphia: The American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1950), p. 19.

²See Gladwin Hill, "Why They Gamble: A Las Vegas Survey," *New York Times Magazine*, August 25, 1957, p. 27.

³Edmund Bergler, *Money and Emotional Conflicts* (New York: Pageant Books, 1959), p. 85.

⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 66, 73.

⁵"Why?" *Look Magazine*, March 12, 1963, p. 27.

⁶Maurice Parmalee, *Personality and Conduct* (New York: Moffat, Yard & Co., 1918), p. 70.

⁷Zimmermann, *op. cit.*

⁸Aaron J. Rosanoff, *Manual of Psychiatry and Mental Hygiene* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1947), p. 138.

⁹*Op. cit.*, p. 27.

¹⁰Wendell White, *The Psychology of Making Life Interesting* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1939), p. 99.

¹¹R. C. Mortimer, "Gambling," *Personal Ethics*, ed. Kenneth E. Kirk (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934), p. 137.

- ¹⁷Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 60.
- ¹⁸*Op. cit.*, p. 26.
- ¹⁹Edmund Bergler, *Psychology of Gambling* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1957), p. 13.
- ²⁰Zimmermann, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
- ²¹*Op. cit.*, p. 27.
- ²²"A Matter of Gambling," *Baptist Standard*, June 5, 1963, p. 15.
- ²³"King of the Gambling Casinos," *Parade*, October 18, 1964, p. 7.
- ²⁴"I Was a Compulsive Gambler," *Saturday Evening Post*, August 23, 1958, p. 25.
- ²⁵Shearer, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
- ²⁶Bergler, *Psychology of Gambling*, p. 23.
- ²⁷Gordon H. Cole and Sidney Margolius, *When You Gamble You Risk More Than Your Money*, Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 354, 1964, p. 15.
- ²⁸*Ibid.*
- ²⁹*Psychology of Gambling*, p. 7.
- ³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 24.
- ³¹Zimmermann, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
- ³²*Money and Emotional Conflicts*, p. 67.
- ³³*Psychology of Gambling*, p. 106.
- ³⁴"I Was a Compulsive Gambler," *op. cit.*, p. 63.
- ³⁵Lycurgus M. Starkey, Jr., *Money, Mania, and Morals* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1964), p. 70.
- ³⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 74-75.
- ³⁷*Ibid.*, p. 71.

7

Gambling and the Family

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When one begins to consider the most direct result of gambling on family unity or disorganization, the scarcity of clinical studies is quickly apparent. Paul Popenoe, president of the American Institute of Family Relations, reflected this absence of clinical materials when he remarked, "I have looked over my scanty files and find nothing that deals specifically with the relationship of gambling to family problems and family breakdowns, although there is certainly such a relationship and a very important one."

Much of the content of this study will be drawn from the personal experiences of families who have been involved in marital problems because of gambling.

Contemporary Attitudes

Inasmuch as individual feelings about gambling are often shaped by the attitudes of the family setting, it will be helpful to deal briefly with definitions of and responses to prevalent gambling practices.

In this study we distinguish between three kinds of gambling—casual, promoted, and compulsive. The first two refer to legal distinctions while the last one refers to a psychological response to gambling itself.

Casual gambling may be defined as that form of gambling which

is not conducted for the profit of any person, cause, or organization; is not public and makes no appeal to the public or any segment thereof; is not connected in any way with gambling machines, gambling devices, or professional gambling; is participated in only by natural persons, none of whom are professional gamblers or promoters of professional gambling; does not breach the peace and is engaged in solely for pastime and recreation based on a bona fide social relationship.¹ This type of gambling includes friendly poker games between the boys from the office, nickel-a-point bridge games, matching coins with the young people at school, and other forms of so-called innocent gambling.

Promoted gambling may be sponsored by a church, a veterans' organization, a gambling casino, a racetrack, or a state-supported lottery. It is "arranged for the purpose of securing a benefit, gain, or profit for the promoter or his beneficiary from a group of persons by tempting and exploiting to the risking point their desire to get something for nothing by chance."² This kind of gambling is directed toward the mass of the population when legalized and appeals to many segments of the population when operated illegally.

Gamblers Anonymous, an organization devoted to helping individuals deal with their gambling problems, defines a compulsive gambler as "a person who is dominated by an irresistible urge to gamble. Coupled with this is the obsessive idea that a way will be found not only to control the gambling but to 'make it pay' and enjoy it besides."³ This compulsive response to gambling has already been discussed, but it must be reemphasized because of its devastating effect on the family.

In the light of these definitions, three major attitudes toward gambling can be discerned in contemporary family life: acceptance, toleration, rejection.

Acceptance.—Any estimate of the number of families in the United States who accept and engage in casual or promoted gambling would be subject to error because of the lack of clinical statistics. However, the expenditure of at least fifty billion dollars a year by Americans for gambling activities is a clear indication that such acceptance is widespread. A recent attempt to legalize

pari-mutuel betting in Iowa provided one opportunity for family attitudes to be reflected in the editorial columns of the *Des Moines Register*.

One letter to the editor presented the usual fallacious argument that insurance premiums and racetrack betting are both forms of gambling. Then the writer praised the Irish sweepstakes as a model for Americans by declaring, "You may buy a ticket for \$3.00 and have a clear chance to win up to \$140,000. The average wage earner has no chance in a lifetime of acquiring such a sum. Yet for only \$9.00 per year he can have three chances. Should he win, he would be helped tremendously. Should he never win, his loss, bet, or premium would be negligible if steadily and gainfully employed."

This acceptance of gambling as beneficial to the individual and the state was also voiced by a father questioned on the street. In his response to the interviewer's question about legalizing betting, he said, "I think it's a good source of revenue for the state and provides a legal outlet for some racing enjoyment. . . . All-in-all, I believe it's a good thing for the community and the state."⁴ Even more revealing than these two comments, however, was the fact that *no person interviewed* expressed any opposition to the legalizing of gambling by the state! This belief that gambling is acceptable for recreational enjoyment, as well as tax revenue, is further indicated by the popularity of casual betting on sports events and cards, flipping coins for drinks, and playing games of chance in local carnivals.

Toleration.—Other families are unconvinced about the benefits of gambling but believe that it is inevitable that people will gamble, so it might as well be regulated. A sixty-five-year-old retired lady voiced the feeling of many in Iowa when she said, "They might as well [legalize betting]. If people don't bet on one thing, they bet on another."⁵ This toleration of gambling is often the result of a confused belief that "morals can't be legislated," or that legalized gambling is safe from gangsterism, since "it is state-regulated."

Among Christian families, toleration of gambling seems to fall into two categories. One is the toleration of small-stake gambling,

in a mistaken belief that a difference in degree makes a difference in kind. The other is toleration of gambling "because it is for a good cause." Thus bingo at the church or roulette at the PTA carnival are acceptable, although the same games in a professional gambling establishment would be condemned. Both of these categories of response seem to reflect a very naïve view of the basic nature of gambling and of its influence on the Christian life.

Rejection.—Growing pressure toward acceptance or toleration of gambling is taking its toll among American families, but all are not yielding to its appeal. The recent struggle over legalized gambling in Arkansas revealed that when the people of a state are given adequate information and an opportunity to make an honest choice, legalized betting can be rejected as a state-supported policy. It is more difficult to know, of course, how many of these families would reject casual gambling with the same fervor they refuse promoted gambling. We can only recognize that in our contemporary concern with the problems of gambling, a large number of families do oppose the gambling urge, whether it be casual or promoted.

Consequences

We are aware that all homes in which gambling is supported or practiced do not suffer the consequences analyzed in the following discussion. However, participation even in casual gambling does have some influence on the home, even though these effects are not so obvious as in the homes where one or more family members participate regularly in promoted gambling. The great threat to the home, of course, is compulsive gambling. Since this is often the intensified result of casual betting, it is important that the Christian family be willing to investigate how gambling in various degrees does affect the family and thus plan to avoid encouragement of gambling practices in any degree.

In this brief survey we will attempt to state and illustrate several of the tangible effects of gambling on family life.

Distorted sense of values.—One of the most devastating effects of gambling on family life is the distortion of value judgments by the gambler. This is most clearly revealed in the life of the com-

pulsive gambler, but it may also be true for the social gambler. The Gamblers Anonymous guidebook affirms this warped outlook on life as the most significant problem of the gambler.

The greatest loss that resulted from our gambling was neither time nor money, which are gone forever, but our sense of values. By sense of values we mean an understanding of what is really important and good in our lives, such as the value of the love and respect of the people who care most about us. Most of us placed far too little value on such precious qualities as love, truth, dependability, unselfishness, and honor, and because we valued them so lightly, we lost them.⁶

Attitudes toward money, work, and personal integrity are so shaped by the "something for nothing" idea that individuals abandon responsibility and seek to live by chance.

In his own personal testimony Phil illustrated how money can become an all-consuming passion for the gambler. After having quit school because he thought education was the goal of the foolish, he tried to live by his wits. He got a job at a candy counter in a theater where he began shortchanging customers. Although he was regularly caught at this, he said, "I went right on doing it in other places because money was beginning to assume an unhealthy importance in my immature mind. And this importance inevitably led to the start of my compulsive gambling."⁷ When families encourage gambling in the home setting, children may mistakenly decide that this easy way to get more money is a smart idea.

Gambling also distorts the meaning of work. While the Christian faith honors honest work as an expression of God's purpose for man, the person devoted to gambling tends to lose a sense of responsible stewardship in his job. Elliott pointed out how gambling can distort the idea of vocation when he admitted, "I had to learn how to work again, and to put in an honest day's work."⁸

Financial problems.—As a child, I would sometimes accompany my Cuban playmates in Miami, Florida, when they went with their parents to buy numbers on the Havana numbers racket. Even though the families lived in very meager circumstances, each week

found them returning to the same house on Eleventh Street to spend a portion of the family income in the vain hope of "hitting the Havana." Of course, this was only small-time gambling, but it still had an effect on the family financial picture; money badly needed for clothing and household goods was spent on numbers.

When this use of the family income leaves the realm of penny-ante betting and involves spending larger sums, then the effect on the family is far more destructive. Bergler reminds us that "the man who risks the money needed to feed his family is an all-too-familiar and tragic figure."⁹ Ray was just such a man. When he was thirty-three years of age he had a wife, two daughters, many family friends, an excellent job with fifteen years' seniority, a summer cabin in the mountains in addition to a debt-free home, and money in the bank. Then he was introduced to racetrack betting. In eight years Ray lost his job, his home and cabin, his bank account, and owed the bonding company for money which he had used without permission. "To make matters even worse," he said, "I had to move my family in with friends because I could not afford rent for a place of my own."¹⁰ Ultimately Ray was helped through Gamblers Anonymous to regain his self-respect and his family's love, but his story is a constant reminder of the financial ruin to which gambling can lead a family.

Strained relationships.—Participation in social gambling may be so accepted by the family that it does not cause serious stress on family relationships. For example, betting in bridge, bingo, occasional poker games, and so on, may not be so extensive that the family is faced with continual strife over this. However, the fact that petty gambling may be practiced without tension must not blind one to the serious tensions which compulsive gambling causes between husband and wife or between parents and children.

The wife or husband of a person who has become addicted to gambling is faced with a problem of major proportion. Wives who have lived with this problem undoubtedly would agree with the following statements:

Living with this illness proves to be a devastating experience for most. Family relationships become unbearably strained. The home

is filled with bitterness, frustrations and resentments. We believe no one understands our problem. There seems to be no way to solve our insurmountable difficulties. We are unable to think rationally at times. As marital partners of a gambler, we are very prone to develop a neurosis also. Life seems hardly worthwhile.¹¹

Bergler cites the case of a woman who marched into his office without an appointment to berate him for having encouraged her husband in the gambling habit. As she told her story, it became clear that her husband had fabricated a tale of having consulted Bergler. The psychiatrist was reported to have told him, "There is nothing wrong with your gambling. In your case it is completely normal—you just want to augment your meager earnings." Actually, the man was using all of his money to gamble while his family went without food and other necessities. When the woman learned that her husband had made up the whole story to stop her criticism, she expressed a kind of quiet desperation in her reply, "I thought so. He lies and cheats, but I love him. Besides, we have children."¹²

Even in a home where compulsive gambling is not the problem, relations between mates can be in continual tension because one wants to gamble while the other does not believe that it is right. Just recently a wife expressed to me the unhappiness which she felt because her husband wanted to go to the racetrack while she wanted to go to church. Even though the husband was a church member, he had a moral blind spot on the issue of casual gambling. This tension was not destroying their marriage, but it was adding a note of unrest which could easily become a focal point for later problems. She remarked with spirited feelings that betrayed her words, "Well, let him go to the track if he wants to. I don't care!"

One of the members of Gamblers Anonymous gives a vivid description of the havoc that compulsive gambling can cause in a marriage in this reflective analysis:

It is more difficult to say whether the gambler or his wife is the more physically, mentally and emotionally damaged by the ravages of a gambling binge. For the wife can only wait and wonder. Her

husband may be in jail, in a wreck, in another country, alive, dead or broke. She can usually be quite sure he is broke. She imagines all these things, including infidelity, and she tries to fight back with every weapon at her disposal. She may love, plead, cajole, threaten, nag or "talk things out" until she is blue.¹³

Ultimately, as we shall see later, this tension may erupt in a broken home through divorce or desertion unless something can be done to cure the problem.

As we have seen, the husband seems more likely to be the cause of tension over gambling, but occasionally the tables are reversed. Margie was a wife to whom gambling had become a way of life. She had grown up listening to the stories of her father's exploits at the gambling tables and early developed a liking for games of chance. After her marriage, bingo and bookies became a daily part of her life. When on a bingo binge, she said, "I neglected my affairs at home, my husband, our business. I thought nothing of letting my household chores go—dishes in the sink, washing undone, and supper . . . well, my husband would have to shift for himself. I could not let any of these things interfere when it was time for me to go to my bingo games."¹⁴ This home would eventually have been destroyed if Margie had not been led to understand herself and to break the gambling habit.

Gambling not only creates tensions between mates in a marriage but also causes conflict between parents and children and between brothers and sisters. Statistical evidence was not available concerning this effect of participation in gambling by one or more family members, but case histories do suggest the extent of this problem. The following excerpts from members of Gamblers Anonymous reflect broken relationships among all family members.

Phil writes, "I had long since become a problem for my mother and adult sisters. I didn't worry about leaving them completely broke in order to satisfy my gambling compulsion."

Irwin said, "I have a sixteen-year-old brother whom I love very much and whom I have hurt greatly because he always looked up to me. He has been deprived of many things he would have had."

Jim H., secretary of the organization, described the break in his family relations in these words: "I was given a plane ticket to Los Angeles by my father. He told me that he could no longer bail me out of my jams, and that whatever trouble I got into from then on I would have to suffer out on my own. My family was through once and forever."¹⁵

Thus the practice of gambling can be identified as one of the contributing influences to discord between family members. The intensity of the discord undoubtedly is dependent upon the degree of participation in gambling practices, but any involvement in gambling activities can probably aggravate whatever other tensions the family might have to face.

Influence on children.—Another result of parental acceptance of gambling is the greater degree of participation by their children in similar activities. Gambling is not an instinctive response in human life but "a form of learned behavior—just one of several specific attitudes toward property, none of which are inborn."¹⁶ Consequently, if the family setting conditions a child to accept gambling through parental example, it is not strange to see the child adopt this pattern as his own. Ray was introduced to gambling in just this way. At fourteen years of age he was invited by his father to sit in on a poker game at which Ray won several dollars. His father continued to allow him to play and he won often. This led him to believe that luck was on his side, and it contributed to his career as a compulsive gambler.¹⁷

Parental influence was also noted by Professor F. Zweig in London when he studied the persons attending dog-racing stadiums in that city. Children from seven to fourteen years of age often accompanied their parents, and Zweig cited the case of two fathers who gambled with their sons, having introduced them to the game. "In this way," said Zweig, "the family tradition is maintained."¹⁸

Hindrance to spiritual growth.—As Sylvanus Duvall has pointed out, "Gambling is but one expression of unchristian values, and an indication of the lack of vital Christian power."¹⁹ Since the confirmed gambler assumes an attitude toward life based upon a superstitious belief in Lady Luck, it is almost impossible for him

to have any positive dependence upon God. The editor of the Gamblers Anonymous manual quite aptly describes the gambler's religious perspective:

To most of us God was like the relief pitcher on a baseball team. He languished in the bullpen until we got into real trouble. When our own curves and slants began to be slammed back into our teeth and we found ourselves in real trouble, we shouted loudly for God to hurry in and bail us out. Once we were safely off the hook we were wont to say, "Thank you, God, I'll take over now."²⁰

This attitude of using God for one's own convenience is not limited to gamblers in our modern society, but it does seem to be descriptive of them. When the family is influenced by such a concept, there is a loss of humble faith in God.

In addition, the gambling family tends to separate itself more and more from the worship and activities of the church, thus cutting themselves off from the forces that could channel their lives into Christian growth. In one of the places where I served as pastor we attempted to reach a young adult family for Christ and the church. Many excuses were offered for absence, but the real reason was gambling. Every Saturday night their family room was filled with neighborhood men who joined in a poker game that lasted until dawn. There was no room for religion in this schedule and no sense of need for God in their attitudes toward life.

Broken homes.—Even though gambling is not usually considered to be a home-wrecking problem, our survey would force us to agree with Judge Louis H. Burke that "gambling wrecks more homes than most of us realize."²¹ The divorce action may list more familiar grounds, such as nonsupport, desertion, or mental cruelty, but the true cause can often be traced to gambling. Bob was but one of the many members of Gamblers Anonymous whose home was broken in this way. He had been married for nine years and had two sons, but "gambling was the most important thing in my life, so I ran away from family and debts."²²

From the monthly publication of the Pacific Garden Mission in Chicago came this cryptic case history: "I was 48 in February.

I have been a chemist by occupation. Gambling broke up my home. My divorce threw me for a loop. I turned alcoholic."²⁸

There is need for much more research concerning the influence of gambling on family breakdown, but there is little doubt that it is a significant factor.

NOTES

¹Francis E. Williams, *Lotteries, Laws and Morals* (New York: Vantage Press, 1958), p. 81.

²*Ibid.*

³*Gamblers Anonymous* (Los Angeles: The G. A. Publishing Co., 1964), pp. 32-33.

⁴*Register* (Des Moines), May 15, 1965.

⁵*Ibid.*

⁶*Gamblers Anonymous*, p. 34.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 161.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 207.

⁹Edmund Bergler, *Psychology of Gambling* (London: Bernard Hanison Ltd., 1958), p. 4.

¹⁰*Gamblers Anonymous*, pp. 128-29.

¹¹*Living with the Gambling Problem* (Los Angeles: Gam-Anon National Services, n.d.), p. 1.

¹²*Op. cit.*, p. 135.

¹³*Gamblers Anonymous*, p. 139.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 188.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 164, 176, 183.

¹⁶Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

¹⁷*Gamblers Anonymous*, p. 125.

¹⁸Quoted by E. Benson Perkins, *Gambling in English Life* (London: The Epworth Press, 1958), p. 68.

¹⁹*Parents and the Spirit of Gambling* (Washington: General Board of Christian Social Concerns of the Methodist Church, n.d.).

²⁰*Gamblers Anonymous*, p. 50.

²¹*With This Ring* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1958), p. 139.

²²*Gamblers Anonymous*, p. 172.

²³*Pacific Garden Mission News*, April, 1965, p. 3.

8

The Relationship Between Gambling and Crime



Our country is supporting two systems of government. There is the legally constituted law of the land on the one hand and the rule of corruption enforced by the guns of the underworld on the other. This underworld government is highly organized and frighteningly efficient. The average American citizen may be paying the bills of both governments, for organized crime in the United States is primarily dependent upon illicit gambling for funds to operate.¹

The attention of the nation was first directed to the indisputable relationship between gambling and organized crime at the time of the Kefauver Committee investigations. On television screens in our own homes most of us saw revealed for the first time the dimensions of this menace that we had hitherto but vaguely suspected. The United States Senate permanent subcommittee, under the chairmanship of Senator John L. McClellan, revealed other facets of the activities of the racketeers and the dependence of the criminal underworld upon gambling as a source of income.

In his fight against organized crime, former Attorney General Robert Kennedy sought to inform his countrymen of the leading role that gambling plays in the support of underworld activities. Leading periodicals have published articles by him and by others prominent in the fight against organized crime and the corruption wrought by it.

The gold mine of the underworld is the gambling racket, and dimes and dollars from the pockets of ordinary, almost-honest citizens provide the gold. Bookmaking, numbers games, and lottery operations, together with the gambling casinos, every year pour billions of dollars into the underworld cash registers. Men and women who place a two-dollar bet with the corner bookies are unaware that they are sponsoring the narcotics traffic, prostitution, bootlegging, gang murders, labor union racketeering, corruption of law enforcement officers, and the bribery of college athletes. It is a fact well documented that this is what their "innocent" gambling activities pay for.

Syndicates

Syndication of racketeering efforts is a fairly recent phenomenon. The era of prohibition was one of violent conflict and bloodshed among criminals themselves. It became for them a matter of necessity that they organize and cooperate, assigning territories and areas of activity. With the repeal of prohibition some source of income had to be found to make up for the loss of the bootleg liquor market. Gambling has filled that void and the criminal underworld has found it advantageous to further organize its ranks.

The contemporary crime syndicates operate like any big-business enterprise. They make use of every technological and scientific development pertinent to their work. Organized crime today is not a game of cops and robbers: it is a fearful, hideous reality that has fastened itself upon our land. It is a monster that is supported by gambling activities, themselves organized on a nation-wide scale.

The gamblers are the capitalists of the underworld. They finance an annual multibillion-dollar business. The turnover of cash due to illegal gambling has been estimated to be between twenty-two and fifty billion dollars a year. The profit to the underworld tycoons is said to rival our annual defense budget.

The relationship between gambling and crime in twentieth-century America is obvious to anyone who is disposed to dig for the facts. Crime commissions, congressional investigating committees, and court records declare that gambling plays a major

role in criminal activity in our society. The citizen who bets because he sees nothing wrong in doing so if he can afford it is helping to finance a reign of corruption and terror.

Narcotics.—Illicit narcotics traffic is one of the most conspicuous operations supported by gambling interests. Large capital is required to finance the international operations of the dope smugglers, and huge sums from the gambling treasure chest are invested in this enterprise. The total profit from dope smuggling is small compared to that of the gambling rackets, but in places like New York City, where almost half of the nation's addicts gather, it can net a very tidy profit. One successful shipment of Heroin to New York can bring in so much revenue that the gangsters are reluctant to give up this source of income, in spite of the expense and the risks involved.

Strong-arm methods, including murder, are common in the narcotics racket. When a recent major international narcotics ring was broken, two of the twenty-four defendants were murdered before the completion of their trials. The ordinary citizen who places a bet does not see this side of his small gambling venture, but gambling revenues almost invariably provide the initial investment of the narcotics ring.

The story of Vito Genovese, a top figure in the New York Cosa Nostra, documents the kinship between gambling profits and the narcotics trade. The Federal Bureau of Narcotics has pointed to Genovese as the motivating force behind the international Heroin-smuggling combine, as well as the controlling force behind gambling operations in a number of cities.² Although Genovese himself is now serving a fifteen-year term in the penitentiary, the trade goes on.

Prostitution.—Gambling and prostitution, always closely associated, were the first illegal commodities to receive the attention of the big-time racketeers. These two areas were well-organized rackets even before prohibition became the bonanza of the underworld. Both continue to thrive.

When we consider that much of the income of organized crime comes from operations that are outside the law, prostitution is readily seen to be a field ripe for exploitation. The prostitute is

often at the mercy of the gangster who "manages" her. Neither she nor her clients can go to the courts for protection against extortion and shakedowns by the racketeers. The nature of her trade makes the prostitute the associate and the victim of those who, like her, provide the demand for illegal commodities.

Loan sharks.—The gambling-crime syndicates operate for the sole purpose of making money. Loan-sharking is a natural development of the syndicate operations. The habitual gambler frequently finds himself desperately in need of immediate cash. When this time comes the loan shark is ready with the money—at exorbitant rates of interest. An example of this was reported recently in Cook County, Illinois. A citizen of the area found it necessary to borrow sixteen hundred dollars to settle a gambling debt. He got the money fast enough, but was bound to make weekly payments of two hundred dollars for twenty weeks—a total of four thousand dollars. When he found himself unable to meet the payments, he was threatened with death unless he produced the money. It was at this point—actually fearing for his life—that he hastened to the state's attorney.

The coffers of the gambling industry are full of money for loans—at weekly interest rates of up to 20 percent or more. Once the money has been borrowed, hoodlum threats of violence and goon-squad pressures may be used to exact payment. Murder may even be involved.

Invasion of legitimate business.—The enormous amounts of money which the racketeers rake in from loan-sharking tell only a small part of the tale of gangland's financial operations. Loans may be used as a device to gain entrance into a legitimate business. Once on the inside, the racketeers use the business as a front for their own devious ends, or they sweep up whatever assets are available before they disappear. A case such as the latter was brought to the attention of the Federal Court in New York City by the testimony of Joseph Valachi. As security for an eighty thousand-dollar loan, the hoodlums took over a meat-packing plant and within a week milked it of \$745,000.³ This story, with slight variations, is being acted out again and again all over the country.

The big crime syndicates of today operate in many areas. Their

representatives may be found wherever there is a possibility of vast profits. The syndicates of this generation are in business on a scale so huge that it defies imagination. Their gambling profits have mushroomed and they have craftily sought new fields to exploit with their wealth. The expansion of their activities has been coupled with an effort on the part of the underworld tycoons to develop a facade of respectability. With this as part of the purpose, large sums have been invested in legal business enterprises. The edges of the underworld have thus been intentionally and very successfully blurred. There is, indeed, at times such an overlapping of the underworld with the overworld that it is difficult to detect which is which. This, of course, is part of the strategy.

It is said that in Chicago one may be doing business with the gambling-crime syndicate when he engages a diaper service, has his garbage hauled away, goes to a barber or a beauty shop, buys a corsage, purchases bread in a supermarket, or pays for a surprising variety of other commodities or services.⁴

The histories of the men who gathered for the Appalachian crime convention furnished amazing documentation of the links that exist between the underworld and the overworld. The members of the criminal combines represented at the Appalachian marshmallow roast have made vast fortunes in gambling, narcotics, prostitution, and extortion. Although these men were engaged in criminal activities, most of them were engaged in at least one legal business. When the facts were gathered, it was discovered that nineteen of them were in the garment manufacturing business, seventeen were owners or operators of restaurants or taverns, and others were in building and construction, trucking, and the entertainment field. Still others had automobile agencies, funeral homes, bakeries, or laundry services.

Penetration of unions.—When the mob moves into the world of legal business, it is vital that it also control the trade unions with which it must deal. This is crucial to their manner of control. Competitors must be brought to heel and this is accomplished by the use of various kinds of pressure, including the threat of strikes and picket lines. The payoff becomes a routine part of the operation.⁵

In the case of the theater industry fiasco a few years back, the racketeers penetrated the union and cleaned up by such brazen techniques as simply announcing to a theater owner that he would have to surrender half his profits. By such methods the criminals virtually took over the motion picture industry and extorted millions of dollars from union members and motion picture producers before a troublemaker in their own ranks stopped the show.⁶

Hundreds of honest, decent union officials throughout the country, and possibly millions of hard-working union members, are daily subjected to the manipulations of the racketeers and their henchmen whose greedy fingers rob the union till. One of the most significant results of the examination of the backgrounds of the Appalachian visitors was the revelation that twenty-three of these hoodlums were directly connected with labor unions or with labor-management bargaining groups.

Few people can forget the investigations in which Dave Beck, president of the Teamster's International, was the principal character. The shocking stories of embezzlement, bribery, kickbacks, and extortion are not surprising when the fact is seen that men in office were not infrequently important figures in the underworld.

The McClellan committee received letters from thousands of citizens who poured out their fears and indignation at the evils that afflicted them as union members or businessmen who were caught in the squeezing operations of racketeers in the unions. There were hundreds of communications to the committee which charged union officials with crimes of murder, arson, larceny, embezzlement, fraud, assault, extortion, and others.

The hearings of the above-mentioned committee pointed out over and over that no man, woman, or child in America can escape the immoral pressures and the financial tributes that organized crime extorts from the unsuspecting populace. The costs of extortion, kickbacks, and shakedowns which industry consents to are passed on to the consumer in one way or another. The consumer pays more for his food, his clothing, or his furniture because the gambling-crime syndicates have branched out into business and into the labor unions. We are, in fact, paying an unofficial sales tax to the criminal underworld. Add to this the fact

that almost nothing by way of income tax is paid by the big-time gamblers on the huge profits they rake in. Senator McClellan declared that data gathered by his investigators indicated that tax-dodging professional gamblers are costing the Federal Government some five billion dollars in taxes annually; an amount, it has been pointed out, sufficient to balance the national budget.⁷ The gambling business is expensive in more ways than one.

A new window was recently opened on the financial activities of the racketeers with the revelation that a full-scale invasion of the banking business has become their goal. The public first got wind of this development when complaints were made in Wall Street of racketeering in certain financial institutions—operations which had cost investors millions of dollars. Senate investigations have underscored the fact that criminals no longer simply use the banks as hiding places for their ill-gained wealth. They now control the banks, at least in certain instances. The fact that there have been nine bank failures in the past thirteen months, unprecedented in a time of prosperity, has created a strong suspicion that this is more than mere coincidence. Once the racketeers have gained control of a bank's management they are able to make loans to themselves without collateral. After milking the bank of its assets they can pull out before the law closes in.

Embezzlement.—The gambling rackets must be held accountable for numerous crimes of embezzlement. The embezzlement of funds by bank personnel often reveals a background of gambling losses. The employee may "borrow" considerable amounts to cash in on a "sure thing," expecting to replace the cash before it is missed. To recover from one disastrous loss, more cash is needed, and the situation becomes a web of hopeless entanglements. Industry, we learn, is reluctant to locate in areas where gambling is rampant.⁸ The rate of embezzlement by the gambler who is caught short or the one who is looking for cash to wager makes the risk too great.⁹

Manipulation of securities.—The securities industry provides still another channel for the use of underworld talent. Particularly do the hoodlums try to gain control of the spurious company through the use of gambling profits. By establishing fictional

market prices and the use of high-pressure selling techniques, they manage to unload the stock at exorbitant profits to themselves and have held at times a virtual monopoly of the across-the-counter securities firms.¹⁰

Scandals in athletics.—In January, 1961, Aaron Wagman, a New York gambler, was sentenced to five years in prison and a fine of ten thousand dollars for trying to bribe a University of Florida football player to shave points in a game the preceding September. This event was followed by the disclosure of bribery and attempts at bribery of other college athletes. Forty-eight games, thirty-seven players, and twenty-two colleges were involved in the basketball gambling scandals which erupted in the early 1960s.¹¹

Corruption of Law Enforcement

Nowhere is the underworld pollution, which is bankrolled by the gambling rackets, more clearly seen than in the corruption of law enforcement officials. Modern gangland operations cannot be carried on without protection. Because it is illegal in most places, the gambling business is forced to resort to bribery and corruption of law-enforcement personnel in order to exist at all.¹² Tolerance and protection of the law is one of the most costly items with which the gamblers have to contend, but the gangs have unbelievable cash assets available for this use. They accept, as a necessary condition of their staying in business, the high prices they must pay for lawyers, spy systems, bribes and payoffs to politicians and policemen.

The Kefauver Investigating Committee exposed the staggering ratio of payoffs to gambling profits that the gambling industry tolerates. From 1950 to 1960, the net annual take of the underworld was estimated to be nine billion dollars, with half that amount being channeled into police and political payoffs.¹³ These same racketeers were so certain of the security they had bought that they did not even bother to change their addresses when they were exposed to the nation.

In areas of the country where gambling prevails, law enforcement seems simply to surrender to the criminal element. Failure

to act against the criminals connected with gambling and vice enterprises is reflected in weak law enforcement in other areas. A general breakdown in law enforcement becomes the rule. In some cases the police become so involved with the rackets that they accept pay for their protection and then themselves join the gamblers. In Buffalo it was found that a uniformed policeman would give direction to places where the illegal numbers game could be played, or he might even take your bet himself.¹⁴

In order to satisfy the public, a big show of making arrests may now and then be staged. There may even be a token fine—at which the victim laughs as he makes payment. It has been pointed out that jail sentences in gambling cases are so rare in most large cities as to be virtually unknown. If arrests are made it is not the leaders of the mobs who must take the rap of the law. The leading hoodlums remain largely immune from prosecution and punishment.¹⁵ Al Capone was never brought to trial for any of his major crimes, including the innumerable murders he allegedly ordered.¹⁶ Minor members of the gangs may be imprisoned, but the top leaders remain relatively untouched by law enforcement agencies.

Criminals have not stopped with buying the cooperation of local law enforcement officers: they have plotted to elect to office persons whom they can control. It is obvious that an expansion of their interests has given the gangsters reason to be concerned with government. The McClellan committee found evidence that there were at least three cities in different parts of the nation where local administrations were on the payrolls of the racketeers.

The congressional investigation committees which have been at work during the past several years have proved beyond doubt that criminal combinations of inordinate power and wealth operate a huge gambling industry in America and are gaining tremendous profits therefrom. The reports show, moreover, that these gambling concerns have grown to power and wealth by corrupting public officials at the local level and by gaining invisible political power in many places. The cooperation of mayors, policemen, sheriffs, prosecuting attorneys, judges, and juries is vital to the continued operation of these professional lawbreakers.¹⁷

Widespread police corruption is part of the reason that John M. Murtagh, chief justice of the Court of Special Session in New York City, has become an advocate of the legalization of gambling. He says that the New York Police Department has been corrupted in the areas of gambling and vice almost from the time of its formation. It is his belief that we never have had and never can have true enforcement of the gambling laws, because the temptations are too overwhelming.¹⁸ Others believe that we can and must curtail organized crime by the strict enforcement of the gambling laws now on the statute books. Reduce the gambler's income, they contend, and we will take the first major step toward cutting off funds which are being used to bribe public officials and finance underworld activities.

Conclusion

The most dangerous elements among the criminals today are banded together in tightly knit organizations of tremendous power. They are prepared by any means to make profit from any racket that looks promising. The illegal nature of their pursuits compels violence and murder. The ruthless elimination of competitors from enterprises which the gang decides to take over and the ruthless elimination of informers, or of those whose loyalty to the gang has weakened, has left a trail of blood through the length and breadth of our country. It is the power represented by monopoly that makes the specter of the gambling-crime syndicate so reprehensible. The strength and evil of this monopoly is not only unbelievable but it is in fact incomprehensible to the average, law-abiding person.

NOTES

¹*Gambling and Organized Crime*. Report of the Committee on Government Operations United States Senate, made by its permanent Subcommittee on Investigations (87th Congress 2d Session, Report No. 1310). (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1962), p. 43.

²Robert F. Kennedy, "The Baleful Influence of Gambling," *The Atlantic Monthly*, 209 (April, 1962), 76.

⁹John L. McClellan, *Crime Without Punishment* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1962), p. 291.

¹⁰Morris Ploscowe (ed.), *Organized Crime and Law Enforcement* (New York: The Grosby Press, 1952), pp. 56-57.

¹¹See McClellan, *op. cit.*, chap. 12.

¹²For a full account of this story, see Gus Tyler, *Organized Crime in America* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1962), pp. 197 ff.

¹³Fred J. Cook, "The \$50 Billion-Dollar Window," *New York Times Magazine*, November 5, 1961.

¹⁴"Christians and the Gambling Mania," *The Christian Century*, LXXX, No. 9 (February 27, 1963), 267-70.

¹⁵For additional information on the subject of gambling and embezzlement, see Fred J. Cook, "White-Collar Crime," *The Nation*, June 1-8, 1963, p. 470.

¹⁶Tyler, *op. cit.*, pp. 299 ff.

¹⁷See "Betting and Gambling," *Britannica Book of the Year*, Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 1962 and 1963.

¹⁸Robert F. Kennedy, *The Enemy Within* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1960), p. 7.

¹⁹Fred J. Cook, "Where Do We Go?" *The Nation*, 191 (October 22, 1960), 310-11.

²⁰Kennedy, *The Enemy Within*, p. 16.

²¹McClellan, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

²²Tyler, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

²³See Kennedy, *The Enemy Within*, chap. 6.

²⁴John M. Murtagh, "Gambling and Police Corruption," *The Atlantic*, 206 (November, 1960), 49-53.

9

Legalized Gambling —Source of Revenue



First, allow me to place the role of civilian government in the United States in a perspective relative to the over-all performance of the American economy. We are all aware that the nation is enjoying unprecedented economic affluence—the longest peacetime period of sustained economic growth ever experienced. We are now in the fifth year of continuous prosperity. The Gross National Product for the United States in 1964 was more than 622 billion dollars, an increase of 6 percent over the 1963 output. The 1965 Economic Report of the President shows that almost 130 billion dollars of the total 1964 GNP was generated in the public sector. Thus, about one fifth (19 percent) of the total value of goods and services produced that year can be attributed to governmental activities—federal, state, and local. These data are exclusive of public transfer payments, subsidies, and veterans' benefits, which represent a redistribution of income rather than the production of public goods and services. With regard to the composition of the 130 billion dollars of public spending on goods and services in 1964, about 55 billion dollars was for military and defense-related activities, while 75 billion dollars represented outlays for civilian functions (highways, education, hospitals, police protection, resource conservation, etc.). Moreover, of the 75 billion dollars, approximately 11 billion dollars represented federal civilian outlays and 64 billion dollars state and local outlays. In

brief, state and local government in the United States last year accounted for 85 percent of all nonmilitary public expenditures for goods and services.

Another way to view the level of government operations is to express public spending as a percentage of GNP. For example, federal civilian expenditures on goods and services averaged less than 2 percent of GNP during the past decade (1.8 percent in 1964); while state and local expenditures exceeded 10 percent of GNP (10.2 percent in 1964). Thus, state and local outlays were five times as large as the federal civilian expenditures.

Notwithstanding the popular belief about the centralization of power, the data indicate that the domestic functions of government are widely decentralized among the fifty states, their eighteen thousand municipalities, thirty-five thousand school districts, and some thirty-nine thousand other forms of local units of government—a veritable jungle of overlapping taxing and spending jurisdictions. Also, it is interesting to note that during the past decade, while the nation's income and federal civilian spending in current dollars were increasing at average rates of about 4 to 5 percent per annum, state and local taxes and expenditures increased at rates of almost 9 percent per annum, or twice that of income and federal spending. And indications are that these high state and local growth rates will continue during the ensuing decade.

State-Local Situation

A fundamental question to ask is what has accounted for the unprecedented increases in the levels of state and local expenditures during the postwar years.

Inflation.—This factor alone accounts for about one third of the dollar increase in state and local spending for the decade 1955-64, inclusive. Moreover, the inflation in the government sector of the economy was significantly greater than that which occurred in the household and business sectors during the past decade. For example, the price index increases were 14 percent for consumer goods; 23 percent for investment goods; and 34 percent for public goods.

Population growth.—The increase for the past intercensus dec-

ade was 1.6 percent per annum for the U.S., a rate only slightly below that for India. Today one half of our population consists of children and the aged (under 21 or over 64), and the implications for state and local spending are self-evident. During the 1950s public school attendance increased by about 50 percent, while college level enrolments rose by 60 percent; and the projection for the latter is a 100 percent increase for the 1960s.

Industrialization and urbanization.—As a result of the continuing revolutions in agriculture and industry (now labeled automation), the size of the nation's rural population remained practically constant during the 1950s, while the urban population grew by 30 percent. By 1960, almost three fourths of the population lived in urban communities and, as is widely recognized, the corollary spread to suburbia of high income families and businesses has given rise to some of the most perplexing problems of the central cities—urban sprawl and blight, traffic congestion, and slum areas which breed unemployment, delinquency, and crime.

Economic affluence.—The unprecedented rise in national income is probably one of the most important factors for the increased demand for governmental services. Society wants more of both private and public goods, e.g., more private automobiles gives rise to the need for more public highways and traffic control. This principle of social imbalance was succinctly stated more than thirty years ago by Professor John R. Commons of the University of Wisconsin:

Governments must have revenues in increasing amounts, not because they are corrupt or inefficient, which can be remedied, but because the social needs of education, ethics, morality, art, liberty, protection of the weak, highways, health, and recreation grow faster in an improving civilization than do private needs of foods, luxury, ostentation.

For example, during the years 1957-62, a period characterized as one of fiscal crises for many states (Michigan, California, New York, Colorado, Texas, to name a few), per capita personal income in the United States increased by 15 percent, while state-local expenditures rose by 35 percent.

In brief, public spending on the state and local levels increased enormously during the postwar years. Many states thought they would be able to meet their expanded responsibilities through the normal growth of the base of their traditional tax structures. However, they were continually frustrated because state and local tax systems, unlike the federal, are essentially regressive and do not possess built-in tax yield responsiveness to changing levels of income. This is particularly characteristic for those states which do not use broad-based sales and/or income taxes, but instead place their major reliance on property taxation and specific excises. The pervasiveness of such levies in the combined state-local tax structure of the nation is shown by the following tabulation for fiscal year 1963, the most recent period for which combined data are available.

<i>Type of Tax</i>	<i>Amount (millions)</i>	<i>Percent distribution</i>
Property	\$ 20,089	45.4
General sales	6,604	14.9
Highway user levies	5,783	13.1
Income and inheritance	5,369	12.1
Tobacco and liquor	2,014	4.5
Pari-mutuel and gambling*	345	.8
All other	4,076	9.2
Total taxes	\$ 44,281	100.0

*Total gambling taxes in 1963 consisted of 318 million dollars from legalized pari-mutuel betting in 25 states; another 8 million dollars from licensing and taxes on racetrack admissions and slot machines; and approximately 19 million dollars from the state and local taxation of "wide-open" legalized gambling in Nevada (state—14.7 million dollars, local—4.3 million dollars).

It is evident that the total amount of tax revenues currently obtained from legalized gambling in the United States as a whole is relatively small—about eight tenths of 1 percent of total state-local revenues. It is also quite clear that the overwhelming dominance of property taxation is the prime reason for the inflexibility of our state-local tax structures.

Fiscal Crises

The above factors account for the widespread emergence of state fiscal crises during recent years. Thus, in the five-year period, 1959-63, *more than four fifths of the states enacted more than 150 major tax rate changes* in sales, income, gasoline, tobacco and liquor taxes. In addition, countless revisions were made to reduce exemptions, broaden coverage, and accelerate collections. Moreover, many states adopted new taxes; e.g., Indiana (sales and income), West Virginia and New Jersey (income), Kentucky, Texas, and Wisconsin (sales), Colorado (cigarette). Notwithstanding these recent revisions of state tax structures, anticipated revenues are expected to continue to lag behind expenditure needs. This is evidenced by the fact that in about half of the forty-two states which had regularly convened legislative sessions this year (1965) the governors have recommended two or more new or additional taxes. For example, sales tax increases were proposed in eleven states, income tax increases in nine states, tobacco tax increases in eleven states, liquor tax increases in four states, and miscellaneous increases in ten states.

It is also important to note that at the present time twenty-seven states use broad-based general sales and income taxes in combination. Only ten nonincome tax states rely on the general sales tax, and ten other nonsales tax states use the income tax. Even Nevada, with "wide-open" gambling, is in the sales tax group, and Nebraska, which was the so-called "white spot" in the nation (not utilizing either sales or income taxation), this year joined the income tax group.

Gambling—a Tax Resource

Those who advocate resolving the fiscal dilemma of state and local governments by the introduction of gambling taxation (abstracting the moral and social aspects and implications of such taxation) seemingly do not recognize the nature and magnitude of the fiscal tasks confronting state-local governments today. To meet the expanding needs of the public sector will require an unprecedented use of broad-based and equitably structured expendi-

ture and/or income taxes. On the other hand, gambling taxation, a seemingly politically palatable panacea, at best can only represent a token effort. It cannot resolve the basic fiscal problems confronting the states—financing the domestic needs of an affluent and urbanized society in which state expenditures continue to grow at a rate of 9 percent per annum.

An analysis of the present revenues derived from legalized gambling shows there are twenty-nine states involved, with revenues derived from legalized "wide-open" gambling in one state (Nevada), from legalized slot machines in four other states (Arkansas, Maryland, Tennessee, Washington), and from legalized pari-mutuel betting in twenty-seven states. As already noted, the over-all tax take from these operations is relatively small—less than eight tenths of 1 percent of the total state-local revenues. In dollars, gambling revenues for state and local governmental jurisdictions in fiscal year 1963 amounted to 345 million dollars. My estimate for fiscal year 1964 is 382 million dollars, consisting of 355 million dollars (or 93 percent) from pari-mutuel betting taxes; almost 9 million dollars from licenses and taxes on admissions and machines; and about 19 million dollars from Nevada gaming taxes—state, 14 million dollars; local, 4.5 million dollars. If the analysis is limited to the state level, the gambling tax collections for the ten leading states for the fiscal year 1964 are as follows:

<i>State</i>	<i>Gambling revenues (millions)</i>	<i>Total state tax collections (millions)</i>	<i>Gambling tax as % of state tax</i>
New York	\$ 127.0	\$ 2,713	4.7
California	43.1	2,930	1.5
Florida	32.7	709	4.6
New Jersey	26.8	517	5.2
Illinois	26.4	1,122	2.4
Massachusetts	15.3	632	2.4
Maryland	14.7	475	3.1
Nevada	14.0	73	19.1
Michigan	12.0	1,220	1.0
Ohio	10.2	1,007	1.0


On this basis, it will be noted that among the ten top states

only New Jersey derives slightly more than 5 percent of its total state taxes from pari-mutuel betting, while New York and Florida obtain slightly less than 5 percent from this source. It is equally interesting to note that Nevada is not a "one-tax" state. On the state level, gambling taxes provide less than one fifth of the total state tax collections, and only 13 percent of total state revenues. Grants and subsidies received by Nevada from the Federal government account for 27 percent of Nevada's total general revenues, or more than twice as much as its gambling revenues. Moreover, if we consider taxes alone (abstracting the federal grants and other nontax revenues) we find that Nevada actually relies more on general sales and excise taxes than on gambling taxes. For example, in fiscal year 1964, Nevada's general sales tax alone accounted for 34 percent of its total tax collections, and its excises on tobacco, liquor, gasoline, and insurance accounted for another 28 percent, while gambling taxes accounted for only 19 percent of the total.

Finally, it should be observed that on the state level the 378 million dollars derived from legalized gambling in fiscal year 1964 represented only 1.6 percent of the total state tax collections for the nation, and only 2.3 percent of the total revenues of the twenty-nine states actually involved. In consideration of the above data, it should be patently clear that if the legalized gambling tax take were to double or even triple (amount to about one billion dollars a year), it still would only represent a very minor source of additional revenue relative to the magnitude of the fiscal needs of state and local jurisdictions, which must finance an ever-expanding volume of public services in an increasingly urbanized and economically affluent society.

10

The Relationship of Gambling and Business



The head of the family, although earning seven thousand dollars annually, had brought the household to near destitution by his gambling habits. Payments on the family furniture were long overdue; clothes were shabby; food was scarce; the utilities were about to be cut off. When efforts were made to help the situation, it was discovered that a grafting policeman was involved in the impoverishment of the family by his illicit partnership with the gamblers.¹

Here the problems created by the gambling business are graphically epitomized. It is a familiar pattern. The family and the business community are disrupted, the wage earner is demoralized, and civil authority is corrupted. Gambling is indeed a costly business. Its widespread social and economic impact is incalculable.

A Legitimate Enterprise?

Determined efforts are now being made to convince the American public that legalized gambling is economically advantageous. Gambling interests and some political leaders are promoting it as a largely untapped source of new revenue and a painless way to raise large sums of money for charitable and educational purposes.

These proponents seek to give the gambling industry the stature of a truly legitimate enterprise. Legalization, as in Ne-

vada, inevitably gives it a measure of respectability. It is hailed by the gaming operators of Las Vegas as an exemplary expression of the "free enterprise" system. Yet much of it is actually under the control of the gambling syndicate which is in league with the most lawless elements of society. The Nevada State Supreme Court said of the gambling business, "Nevada has offered gambling the opportunity for lawful existence. The offer is a risky one, not only for the people of this state, but for the entire nation."²

Economic Effects

Just how risky is gambling for the nation? More specifically, what does it cost the business community? There is growing evidence that the economic costs of gambling are much greater than the gains it generates in some sectors of the economy. Long-term trends in Nevada's economy, England's experience with off-track betting shops, and recent experiences in several American communities where various forms of legalized gambling are available on a neighborhood basis, now establish beyond any question the adverse effects of gambling on legitimate business activity.

The American economy is vitally affected by the gigantic proportions of the gambling industry. It is quite probably the biggest business in the nation. The exact amount of money wagered annually can never be known because much of it is illegally wagered.

Since the total turnover in casino gambling is unknown, the state of Nevada taxes the gross receipts of the gambling firms. This is the total of all winnings less all losses, or net winnings. These reported winnings are about 250 million dollars a year.³ The total of all pari-mutuel betting in the country approximates 4 billion dollars annually. Illegal off-track betting is most certainly greater.⁴

Methods of Assessing the Cost

There is a difference of opinion on how to assess the cost to the economy of the huge volume of gambling turnover. Some British economists and political leaders hold that the net cost of

gambling to the economy is the difference between the turnover and the amount paid out in winnings. Thus, the amount extracted for the proprietors is the real cost.

Paley and Glendinning, in their study of England's off-track betting shops, insist that a proper evaluation of the impact on the economy must take into account both the total volume of turnover and the amount of extraction. They say, "To accept as the economic cost of gambling only the net extraction is to place this industry in a class by itself." It is like claiming that the amount the consumer spends for an article of clothing, for example, is "only equal to the profits and expenses of the retailer."⁵

While it is true that a part of the volume of turnover is returned in the form of winnings, distribution of these winnings is of major economic consequence. In England, the growth of betting shops in lower income areas, the nature of the limits, and the pattern of the wagers are causing a shift of wealth. "The great bulk of increased gambling turnover has come from those of lowest income strata, contributing to an unhealthy and largely unproductive shift of wealth via betting away from lower income families."⁶

To argue for the use of extraction as the measure of gambling cost overlooks the fact that a large proportion of the persons betting actually lose all the money they wager. This part of the total turnover is for them a real cost. For every winner there are many losers, and the fact that one makes a profit in no way lessens the fact that many others take a loss. "The argument for the use of extraction presumes that the average bettor will recover what is staked. It also presumes that there is a fixed amount of money turned over. Neither of these hypotheses meets the standard of experience."⁷

The British economist Lord Stamp has pointed out that the outlay on betting and gambling differs from most other outlays in that it has both a gross cost and a net cost. A part of the gross cost is returned in winnings, but there is a net cost, "which permanently leaves the incomes of the amateur gamblers as a class and is paid away for the organization for betting and gambling and for professional services."⁸ This is that fixed percent of the total take which comes to the operator without risk.

The amount of extraction varies at the gaming tables. Reid and Demaris point out that "the percentage may vary from hour to hour but in the long run it averages out to 1.41 percent on craps, 5.9 percent on blackjack, 5.19 to 7.93 percent on roulette, and from 17 percent and up on slot machines."⁹ The average in racetrack operations is about 15 percent of the turnover. And it is generally agreed that this percentage establishes a competitive margin favorable to the illegal operator. A Senate subcommittee on gambling and crime reported that parlay operators retain as much as eighty cents of every dollar bet.¹⁰ In a proposed lottery for the state of California in 1964, the private sweepstakes corporation planned to retain 13 percent of the gross wagerings as its profit. The state was to pay all costs for the administration and the prizes out of the remainder. It was estimated that this could easily mean a clear profit of 65 million dollars annually for this private corporation. The total professional gambling profits in the United States is in excess of 10 billion dollars yearly. In comparison, it takes one hundred of the largest manufacturing firms in the country to earn total net profits of 8 billion dollars.¹¹

Furthermore, unlike the profits of the large corporations, gambling profits are not shared widely. In Nevada the gambling industry is characterized by a high degree of concentration. Seven clubs have more than one third of all the gambling business in the state. Each of these clubs has gross receipts of six million dollars or more.¹²

Gambling Profits in Nevada

Exact data on the profits of gambling in Nevada are not available. Wallace Turner, citing one knowledgeable observer, estimates that taking the state as a whole, the reported winnings are no more than 90 to 95 percent of the actual winnings. Unreported winnings, "black money," total twelve and a half million dollars yearly.¹³ This money goes to finance the criminal activities of the underworld. Says Turner, "They take the money, hide it and split it up and spend it in the criminal activities that require it. Its social impact is out of all proportion to its size in the econo-

my."¹⁴ Since illegal gambling operators retain a higher percentage of the wagerings than do legally operated business, very large amounts of money are diverted from useful purposes to non-productive gambling circles. This represents a near total loss to the economy, since nothing useful is produced in return for these exorbitant profits.

The economists of the Nevada Legislative Tax Study Group challenge the contention that legalized gambling is a nonproductive business. They say that this is to abandon the only economic criterion of productivity, the marketplace. "Since the ultimate determinant of value is the ability of an industry to command a price in the marketplace—gross winnings in this instance—it is illogical to make a distinction between gambling and other services, particularly, recreation or amusement activities."¹⁵

Such a contention is based on a very strict definition of productivity. In the wider sense the productive character of an industry cannot be defined solely by the ability to command a price in the marketplace. A productive industry provides goods or services that meet needs and contribute to the well-being of society. Gambling meets no real need. It is a parasite, taking from society and giving nothing of real value in return. The loss of capital for constructive uses and the direct and indirect losses to the labor force are all nonproductive effects of the gambling industry.

The Location of Industry

It is well established that in areas of widespread gambling activity the labor force tends to be less stable. Since an adequate supply of labor is one of the basic factors in determining the location of industry, the gambling industry adversely affects industrial activity. Reflecting the views of the *Denver Post*, Starkey says, "Gambling hurts industry. Governor Sawyer admits it is difficult to attract new industry to Nevada because of the presence of gambling, the consequent fear of absenteeism and employee instability."¹⁶

The Nevada Legislative Tax Study Group, referred to earlier, admits the possible deterrent effect of legalized gambling in Nevada on the location of industry. While uncertain as to how sig-

nificant this factor is, they do say that just as gambling may stimulate secondary economic activity and employment "it may also discourage the location of primary industry and other potential residents in the state." They conclude that the impact of this unique factor on the location of industry in Nevada "cannot be ignored when the desirability of a legalized gambling industry is considered."¹⁷

It is significant that the ratio of civilian labor forces to the total population in Nevada and in the United States as a whole have been moving in opposite directions. "Whereas Nevada's percent has been falling consistently since 1930, that for the country as a whole has been rising."¹⁸ Thus, there are adverse effects both on the resident labor force and on the loss of a potential labor force which increased industrial activity would bring to the state.

Another basic factor in the location of industry is the desirability of living conditions for the workers and their families. Centers of gambling activity inevitably attract the undesirable, lawless, and criminal elements. In such an atmosphere illegal gambling poses a threat to the labor force inside the industrial establishments. And undesirable living conditions in the community make the recruitment of a responsible labor force more difficult.

There is a division of opinion in Nevada on the problem of industrial expansion. Some leaders want to attract more industry and to shift the basis of the economy from gambling to more productive enterprises. The gambling interests want to keep industry out of the state because it would bring in working people with their families. This would call for increased taxes to provide more community services such as schools and hospitals.¹⁹ The gambling industry is primarily concerned about more and more profits for itself.

By its very nature, legalized gambling cannot make a major contribution to basic industrial activity. England's nation-wide off-track betting industry substantiates this fact. In May, 1963, the Ministry of Labor reported 41,500 persons employed by the legalized gambling industry of 1.3 billion pounds. In the clothing and footwear industry of 1.2 billion-pound turnover there were

388,501 employed. Furthermore, the total economic activity resulting from expenditures through the betting shops was far short of any one of the major basic industries of the British Isles. Paley and Glendinning conclude that "as an economic factor, gambling in Britain today comes close to Dr. Johnson's classic eighteenth-century definition as being 'a mode of transferring property without any intermediate good.'"²⁰

Now it is true that widespread off-track betting stimulated some sectors of the British economy. The producers of equipment and supplies for the betting shops had a marked increase in business after off-track betting was legalized in 1961. Likewise, there was some increase in certain types of employment, but, as already shown, it was not enough to be of significance to the whole economy. Newspapers increased their circulation with corresponding increase in advertising revenues. Commercial property owners received substantially increased rentals from the thousands of betting shop operators, who themselves represented a new form of business activity. By the end of the first year there were 13,340 licensed shops, an average of 2.6 per 10,000 population.²¹

After two years of the operation of these off-track betting shops, however, significant economic effects were evident. There was a great increase in the number of persons participating in gambling and correspondingly in the amount of money wagered. The annual gambling turnover was greater than the money spent by the government on the national health service.²²

Another important development was the high density of betting shops in industrial areas and in the more economically depressed sections of the country. "Wales, the most economically depressed region of the United Kingdom led with 4.71 shops per 10,000 population; Scotland, the next least affluent area, 3.44; and England, the most prosperous region of the Island had 2.37."²³

A Labor member of Parliament reported that there were more betting shops than butcher shops in his East London dockside constituency. Knowledgeable persons in Britain were agreed that to broaden the availability of gambling is most certainly to attract more people who can ill-afford the losses which inevitably occur. According to Paley and Glendinning, bookmakers, newspapermen,

students of gambling, and economists all said that "the amount wagered and the number of people betting had greatly increased since legalization."²⁴

While there is no comparable experience in the United States, the state of Nevada illustrates some of the unique and varied effects of the gambling industry.

Reliance on Tourism

Of profound significance for the economy of the state is the fact that its largest industry, gambling and related services, depends for the most part on the ability to attract tourists. Close proximity of the gambling centers to the great population centers of California has guaranteed a ready market. With a population of approximately three hundred thousand, Nevada accommodates twelve million tourists every year. The impact of this trade is decisive for the whole economy of the state. The gambling industry and closely related trade and service businesses account for approximately one third of the state's employment and approximately one half of the state's personal income. The Nevada Legislative Tax Study Group concluded, "In brief, legalized gambling today constitutes one of the most important industries in Nevada and provides a substantial tax base for both the state and local units of government."²⁵

Thus, to an unusual degree the stability of the state's economy is dependent on stable economic conditions outside the state. With the increased dependence on the service industries related to tourism, the economists say that "future economic fluctuations on the national level will tend to have a greater impact on Nevada's economy than in the past."²⁶ Fortunately for Nevada, the period since World War II has been one of continued expansion of the national economy. The gambling industry in Nevada has both reflected and stimulated this increased economic activity. In the last twenty years, employment and personal income in the service industry have continued to increase more than twice as fast as all other businesses in the state.²⁷

This spectacular growth of gambling and related service industries is in striking contrast to other basic industries in the state.

Retail trade, for instance, grew at a much slower rate than did the service industries between 1954 and 1958. A striking feature was the absolute decline in the number of eating and drinking places, in the total sales, and in the number of employees. Lumber, building materials, and hardware business also showed an absolute decline in this same period.

Most of the western states in the period since World War II have had a steady increase in the proportion of the workers engaged in the production of goods. Nevada's experience has been significantly different from the other states. "Although value added and employment by manufacturing in Nevada have shown an absolute increase in the postwar period, the proportions of state income and employment generated by manufacturing have declined."²⁸ In 1958, there were only twenty-nine more manufacturing firms than in 1909, and manufacturing accounted for only 5 percent of the state's total employment.

Historically, agriculture has been of primary importance to the economy of the state, but its relative position has declined in recent years. Since 1940, the mining industry also has shown a steady decline in relative importance. In the year 1958, services, government, and trade provided two thirds of the state's total employment, but the goods-producing industry employed less than one fourth of the total.²⁹

Some Conclusions

As mentioned earlier, the total impact of gambling on the business community is not fully known. The long-time losses incurred by the failure to attract industry cannot be precisely assessed. Similarly the impact of changed patterns in family consumption due to gambling can only be estimated. There are, however, several well-established conclusions.

First, many other kinds of business activity actually decline where gambling is widespread. In Nevada, for instance, while the service industry, including gaming, was making gains of 63 percent in receipts, 55 percent in employment, 71 percent in payrolls, and 35 percent in number of firms, the category of amusements other than gambling was showing a decline.³⁰

The same effect was reported by the Citizens' Committee at Colonial Beach, Virginia, and Charles County, Maryland. This committee stated that "slot machines drove out of business legitimate recreational activities such as bowling alleys, Ferris wheel, merry-go-round; all of which had been locally owned and operated."³¹

In reviewing the economic impact of a statute passed by the Wisconsin Legislature in 1948, which closed most of the gambling activities in the state, a professor of business administration at the University of Wisconsin reported, conversely, that resort areas experienced a marked growth in business. Money previously spent on gambling was "now spent on meals, cottages, horses, canoes, fishing equipment and normal vacation expenditures."³²

Similar testimony was received by an investigating subcommittee of the eighty-second Congress' Senate Armed Services Committee. The investigation compared the effect of legalized gambling in Biloxi, Mississippi, with other cities, Gulfport particularly, where gambling was prohibited. A comparative study of the sales tax collections in Biloxi and Gulfport showed, on the basis of statistical data, that legalized gambling definitely hurts business. The committee's report said, "Sales tax collections for Gulfport, which is slightly more than half the size of Biloxi, are virtually at the same level, thereby measuring the adverse trend taken by legitimate business as a result of gambling."³³ The committee also found striking evidence in the 18.2 percent increase experienced by general business during a month in Biloxi when gambling was temporarily suppressed.

Research by the Citizens' Committee of the Colonial Beach area revealed that the introduction of slot machines undermined the stable economy by the artificial stimulus of gambling revenue which was of no real benefit to legitimate business. When the slots were removed, the entire business community felt the effects. More money was spent with local merchants, restaurants increased their business, more new home mortgages were issued than when gambling was in existence, and local bank assets showed a marked increase.³⁴ Legitimate businesses have factual evidence that gambling depresses normal business activity.

Second, the general atmosphere created by widespread gambling activity leads to an increase in both police and welfare service. This inevitably leads to higher police and welfare costs. The state of Nevada has the highest crime rate in the nation, and both Reno and Las Vegas have three times the number on the police force as other cities of comparable size. The gaming tax may cover a part of these added costs initially, but the costs of the long-range social effects are charged to the whole economy.

The attitude that seeks "something for nothing" leads easily to a disdain for honest work with a consequent loss of both wages and productivity. Likewise, the hope of winning drives the gambler to wager to the limit of his resources. Paley and Glendinning discovered through their sample interviews and from bookmakers that the regular customers of the betting shops in England tended to wager on every race to the limit of cash resources, "either chasing losses or following up winnings."³⁵

As a consequence of the enticements of gambling, debts go unpaid and ultimately society has to assume responsibility for the losses. In Britain the National Union of Small Shopkeepers, a private organization, reported that after legalization of betting shops, the rise of family expenditures for gambling had increased bad debts as high as 20 percent. Court debt actions confirmed the report of the small shopkeepers. Orders for commitment for debts increased 50.7 percent the first year of legal operation of betting shops. Bankruptcy cases rose 45.5 percent in the same period.³⁶ The general manager of one of Los Angeles' largest department stores reported "that receipts of bad checks doubled during racing season, that absenteeism increased, and that time payments fell off as much as 30 percent."³⁷

This is the typical pattern of effects in areas of widespread gambling activity. The enticements of gambling lead ultimately to a state of demoralization which seriously affects the capacity of persons as productive and responsible members of the business community.

Gambling is, nevertheless, promoted as a legitimate form of entertainment. But the waste of money and the debilitating effects on persons disqualify it as a normal recreational enterprise.

Wholesome recreation contributes to mental, emotional, and physical well-being. Consequently it is "an essential ingredient in the maximum standard of life in relation to economic production."³⁸

Finally, the movement of the big gamblers into the world of legitimate business poses a threat to the economic health of the nation. Wallace Turner contends that this activity is a new disease in the economy. Successful operators, having learned "high finance" in their nefarious business, move away from the rackets and vices of gambling to other business activity. Says Turner, "When they make this move, they tend to carry with them the ways of the gang and the racket."³⁹

The Desert Inn group in Las Vegas is cited as the most successful example of business activity. According to Turner, "They get money everywhere, mix it up with a pinch or two of their own assets and then gather up the profits."⁴⁰

As the mass of evidence mounts, the cost of gambling soars. It is now a serious, even dangerous blight on the national economy. The judgment of the late Senator Estes Kefauver is true. "Gambling produces nothing; adds nothing to the economy or society of our nation."⁴¹

NOTES

¹Fred J. Cook, *A Two-Dollar Bet Means Murder* (New York: The Dial Press, 1961), pp. 4-5.

²Sid W. Meyers, *The Great Las Vegas Fraud* (Chicago: Mayflower Press, 1958), p. 69.

³Wallace Turner, *Gambler's Money* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1965), p. 142.

⁴Lycurgus M. Starkey, Jr., *Money, Mania and Morals* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1964), p. 16.

⁵Henry D. Paley and John A. Glendinning, *Pattern for New York?* (A Report on Off-Track Betting in England, a study authorized by a Committee of the New York State Assembly, 1963), p. 43.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. vii.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁸Geoffrey Martin, *Gambling and the Citizen* (London: SCM Press, 1949), pp. 57-58.

⁹Ed Reid and Ovid Demaris, *The Green Felt Jungle* (New York: Trident Press, 1963), p. 9.

¹⁰Look, March 12, 1963, p. 27.

¹¹The Survey Bulletin, February 12, 1965. Publication of Research and Statistics Department, BSSB, Nashville, Tennessee.

¹²Reuben A. Zubrow, *et al.*, *Financing State and Local Government in Nevada* (Nevada Legislative Tax Study Group, 1960), p. 320.

¹³*Op. cit.*, p. 142.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 144.

¹⁵Zubrow, *op. cit.*, p. 327.

¹⁶*Op. cit.*, p. 60.

¹⁷Zubrow, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹⁹Clyde Brian Davis, *Something for Nothing* (New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1956), p. 268.

²⁰*Op. cit.*, p. 48.

²¹*Ibid.*, p. 7.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 38.

²³*Ibid.*, p. 7.

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 10.

²⁵Zubrow, *op. cit.*, p. 673.

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 13.

²⁷*Ibid.*, p. 19.

²⁸*Ibid.*, p. 31.

²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 17.

³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 21.

³¹*Ibid.*, p. 67. As quoted.

³²*Ibid.*, p. 69.

³³*Ibid.*, p. 65.

³⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 66-67.

³⁵*Op. cit.*, p. 40.

³⁶*Ibid.*, p. 38.

³⁷Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

³⁸Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 58.


³⁹Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, p. 95.

⁴¹Quoted by Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

11

Rehabilitation of the Gambler



Many Americans appear to be afflicted with the virus of gambling. It is estimated that more than fifty million engage in some form of gambling. Few recognize that compulsive gambling is as extensive as alcoholism and, like the latter, results in the destruction of personality, the family, and often leads to a life of crime.

A spate of literature has been published concerning the nature, the extent, the evil effects, and the control of gambling. Almost nothing has been written on the rehabilitation of the gambler from the medical and psychiatric points of view. Apparently the church has no material on this issue. To my knowledge there is not a single article in pastoral care or pastoral psychology journals on counseling the compulsive gambler or even the moderate one. Nor can one find any material in depth in any religious literature which is specifically related to this problem.

This chapter is aimed at describing the few resources which are available and offering suggestions for developing others.

Community Resources

An arbitrary distinction is made between community and church resources in order to emphasize the role of the latter in the care of the gambler.

Psychiatric aid.—Among community resources which are available to gambling addicts is that of psychiatric help. As in

the case of the alcoholic, the compulsive gambler is a sick person. An eminent doctor holds that alcoholism, gambling, and superstition form a triad, because each has essentially the same causal factors. On the basis of clinical experience, he discovered that his patients carried into adulthood emotional and psychological dynamics that belong to the preadolescent and childhood periods.¹

The psychodynamics of gambling are so deep-seated that psychiatrists are still searching for the roots of the problem. Sigmund Freud relates the compulsion for gambling to the conflict over masturbation. The addiction for gambling becomes an unconscious substitute for masturbation and affords self-punishment for it.² Ralph R. Greenson relates gambling to satisfaction for latent homosexual, oral-receptive drives, and gratification of unconscious needs for punishment.³

The truth of the matter is that neither the psychiatrist nor the gambler knows the causative forces in compulsive gambling. Nevertheless, the psychiatrist can be of help in severe pathological cases. Also, he can refer the compulsive gambler to Gamblers Anonymous.

Schools of gambling studies.—An enormous amount of research needs to be done before much can be accomplished toward redeeming the gambling addict. Therefore, schools and institutes on gambling similar to the Yale School on the study of alcoholism should be established. Team research study, which would encompass all aspects of the problem, and the dissemination of such information would aid in coping with the gambling racket and the gambling personality.

Gambling education.—An educational approach may be made through high schools and colleges. In some states lectures are given in secondary schools on the nature and danger of drinking alcohol. Since the problem of gambling is almost as great as that of alcohol, some discussion of this issue also should take place. Colleges and universities could have lectures and courses bearing on the subject. We have a moral obligation to inform students of the debilitating effects of gambling on the gambler, his family, and society at large.

The old argument that education cannot help to eradicate the "natural instinct" to gamble does not hold. Cannibalism is a natural instinct of primitive people. Civilized people do not eat, as did our English forebears in A.D. 4, other human beings. Through proper education, man can be trained to channel his natural impulses into constructive action. His natural instincts can be re-directed through the educational process to wholesome expressions.

Counseling center.—A counseling center could be established in the community to aid the gambler and his family. Of course, it should be staffed with competent persons. Some professional people may volunteer their time and services for this project. Referrals could be made to mental health clinics, psychiatrists, social welfare services, Gamblers Anonymous, and Gam-Anon, an organization which provides assistance to the wives and families of gamblers.

Study committee on gambling.—Every community can organize a committee to study the local problem of gambling. Action on such a complex issue must be undergirded with facts. Too many crusades against moral issues have gone at it blindly without adequate legal and sociological data. The results have usually been negative so far as curbing and controlling gambling is concerned.

Committee strategy should be to do its work without fanfare, eyes on the camera and news headlines. Able people should be engaged to do the research. Once the facts are in hand, concerned citizens should arouse the public conscience and engage in practical action to rid the community of the gambling forces. An example of such action occurred a few years ago in Newport, Kentucky, by a well-informed and well-organized Citizens' Committee.

Preventive and protective laws.—Citizens can participate in action to provide legislation for the reduction of facilities and inducements to gambling. Where there are available means of gambling, even the "recovered" gambler will be strongly tempted to gamble. As far as possible, the community should protect all of its citizens from the temptations to evil.

Moreover, concerned citizens can insist upon strict enforcement of existing laws on gambling. Every citizen can register his op-

position to the passage of legislation to make gambling legal by writing to his representatives in government. Letters to governors, state senators, and congressmen often determine which legislation will become law.

Gamblers Anonymous.—One of the sources to which the compulsive gambler can go for help is Gamblers Anonymous, an organization patterned after Alcoholics Anonymous. Organized in 1957, at Los Angeles, California, it is a fellowship of men and women who share their experience, strength, and hope with one another that they may solve their common problem and help others in the same plight.

Compulsive gambling is described by GA as "an illness, progressive in nature, which can never be cured, but can be arrested."⁴ The only requirement for membership is the desire to stop gambling. With headquarters in Los Angeles, each local group is self-governing, self-supporting, nonpolitical, and non-sectarian. It is estimated that nine out of ten who join manage, in time, to shake the gambling habit.

The recovery program of GA involves twelve steps which are basically spiritual in nature. They are as follows:

1. [We] admitted we were powerless over gambling—that our lives had become unmanageable.
2. Came to believe that a Power greater than ourselves could restore us to a normal way of thinking and living.
3. Made a decision to turn our will and our lives over to the care of this Power of our own understanding.
4. Made a searching and fearless moral inventory of ourselves.
5. Admitted to ourselves and to another human being the exact nature of our wrongs.
6. Were entirely ready to have these defects of character removed.
7. Humbly asked God (of our understanding) to remove our shortcomings.
8. Made a list of all persons we had harmed and became willing to make amends to them all.
9. Made direct amends to such people wherever possible, except when to do so would injure them or others.
10. Continued to take personal inventory and when we were wrong, promptly admitted it.
11. Sought through prayer and meditation to improve our conscious

contact with God as we understood him, praying only for knowledge of his will for us and the power to carry that out.

12. Having made an effort to practice these principles in all our affairs, we tried to carry this message to other compulsive gamblers.

A prayer adopted by GA reads as follows: "God grant me the serenity to accept the things I cannot change—courage to change the things I can, and wisdom to know the difference."

Recently a member of Gamblers Anonymous lectured in a Christian ethics class at Southern Baptist Seminary in Louisville. After having gambled for twenty years, he was able to overcome his addiction, as he said, "By the grace of God and Gamblers Anonymous." He had lost his home, his friends, his job, his human dignity, and had wrecked his family. He saw his furniture repossessed and witnessed the disassembling of the baby bed which was reclaimed for failure of payments. Today he is a responsible father, businessman, and citizen.

Both GA and Gam-Anon welcome all sincere persons with an open heart and a helping hand. Experience has shown that together those afflicted with compulsive gambling can recover, if they really want to, and find a life of hope and usefulness in society.

Church Resources

Two factors rise up to frustrate us when we turn to the role of the church in the rehabilitation of the gambler. First, churches have done little in a practical way to help the gambler to overcome his illness. By and large he has been condemned or ignored. Ministers have not known how to deal with him. Second, some churches sponsor gambling in terms of raffles, bingo, and the sale of chances on some item for charitable causes. Under the guise of religion such churches not only provide incentive but set the seal of public approval on gambling. But in spite of these hindrances, churches must have the courage to care for the welfare of the victims of gambling. They, too, are made in the image of God and are potential members of his kingdom.

Theology.—A theology which will present a positive answer to the issue of gambling needs to be developed by the church. Such

a theology will stress the stewardship of the gifts of God to man.⁵

Christian stewardship includes the totality of one's personality: his time, talents, and property. Leisure time is to be used for God's glory.⁶ Gambling is a waste of precious time and is unwholesome recreation. Talents are to be employed in the service of God and neighbor. Gambling is a waste of talents and is destructive of one's fellowman. Money symbolizes a man's lifeblood, "coined personality," and is to be used for constructive purposes. Gambling is a misuse of property, for it transfers property from one person to another on the basis of chance without an equivalent received by the loser. Gambling may bring passing pleasure to the winner, but it also brings pain to the loser.⁷ It also brings suffering to the gambler's family and friends.

Religious education.—Every church can provide for young people and adults a sustained educational program dealing with critical moral issues. Study groups should be formed to examine the nature, extent, evils, and ways of curbing gambling. Literature, filmstrips, movies, books, and tracts on the subject may be had from the social service commissions of the major religious denominations. Unfortunately many of these materials lack depth and present negative approaches to the problem. At any rate, lawyers, policemen, social workers, and others in the church and community can be enlisted to provide fresh and firsthand information about the problem of gambling.

Koinōnia in the church.—A former alcoholic confided that when he affiliated with a large city church he could find no intimate fellowship for dialogue and a sharing of his experience with others who were sympathetic. This is a common experience of the gambler who has recovered from his plight through the disciplined fellowship of Gamblers Anonymous. It is imperative that the church created a *koinōnia*, a small fellowship within the ecclesia, where people can find more complete acceptance and understanding. In other words, the church must search for ways of ministering, through its own redemptive fellowship, to people with problems.

Meeting place for GA.—It may appear as a small thing, but churches can provide a meeting place and facilities for Gamblers

Anonymous groups. Such an expression of concern will let gamblers and former addicts know that the church cares about their welfare. It also may be a means of reaching some of these people for Christ and the church.

Pastoral counseling.—The gambler struggling to overcome his weakness needs personal counseling. A pastor who will render this kind of service without cant or sickly piety can be of real help to his counselee. Frederick West, a clergyman, has written a deeply moving account of the conversion of a onetime notorious underworld figure. Through a series of counseling sessions, Dr. West, using nontraditional terms, was able not only to develop a basis of communication with this man who was contemptuous of religion but also to win him to the Christian faith.⁸

When asked by a ministerial student how to minister to a compulsive gambler, the GA member made several suggestions.

The negative side: (1) Don't tell him to stop gambling, for this will only irritate him. He has heard this many times. (2) Don't sympathize with him. If you do you have just "adopted a son"! He will use anybody when he is compulsive, even ministers. (3) Don't ridicule him, for this will make him worse. (4) Don't get him to sign a pledge or to swear off gambling, it is a waste of time. (5) Don't give him money, for he will gamble it away.

On the positive side: (1) Pray for guidance. (2) Recognize that the gambler himself does not understand himself or how to cope with his problem. (3) Understand the gambler. (4) Refer him to Gamblers Anonymous. (5) If there is no GA chapter in the community, help to establish one.

It goes without saying that the pastor should aim at the gambler's conversion. Even Gamblers Anonymous members know that in order to prevent a relapse it is necessary to experience "certain personality changes within themselves: and that this involves response to spiritual principles in order to make them effective."⁹ The gambler must be convinced that he has acceptance with God through repentance and faith in Christ. And he should be led to accept this acceptance even though he feels unacceptable.

In counseling with the compulsive gambler, the pastor may have to make referral. Hence, he should familiarize himself with all

community resources. Teamwork with psychiatrists, doctors, social workers, GA groups, and other sources of help may be necessary in the redemption of the compulsive addict.

What is the pastor to do when he discovers that gambling is spreading in his community and that some of his members have become victims of the gambling fever? Recently a pastor related how shocked he was to find this to be the case in his situation. The first thing he did was to see the city fathers and to call a meeting of the ministerial alliance. When asked if he had counseled with his own church members involved, his answer was in the negative. The minister must have the courage to begin his campaign against an evil force by confronting members of his own flock who are guilty.

This does not mean that interfaith action through various agencies is to be ruled out. To strike an effective blow at a community evil it may be necessary to bring to bear the total religious and moral forces on the issue. Teamwork here is essential. As one Greek Orthodox priest remarked: "We may differ theologically, but we can all fight the devil sociologically."

Committee of concern.—A committee of social concern, composed of capable persons in a church, can be appointed to assist the pastor in ministering to gamblers and their families. A Christian lawyer, doctor, psychiatrist, or social worker on such a committee can provide a healing ministry to these desperate and sick persons. Too, this would be a concrete means of involving some church members in Christian ministry who would not serve in any other capacity.

Personal example.—Gamblers Anonymous points out that the reformed gambler cannot wager the smallest bet without slipping back into the old compulsive habit. Like the alcoholic who takes one drink will resume his drinking, so with the compulsive gambler. He will fall back into the grip of gambling. Hence, the concerned Christian will refrain from all forms of gambling to avoid tempting the former gambler and potential gamblers.

The Christian must avoid putting a stumbling block in the way of a weaker person. Paul admonishes: "We who have strong faith ought to shoulder the burden of the doubts and qualms of

others and not just to go our own sweet way. Our actions should mean the good of others—should help them to build up their characters" (Rom. 15:1-2, Phillips).

Hopefully the above suggestions may contribute to a more comprehensive strategy to help rehabilitate the gambler. I have only scratched the surface of the issue. Others will plow deeper and straighter furrows from which may come methods that will deal more realistically with the problem. As a healing community, the church has a contribution to make toward this end. She must recognize that the gambler, as everyone else, is a person "for whom Christ died." Hence, she must have the courage to care and take the risk involved in ministering to all sinners, including the gambler.

NOTES

¹Iago Galdson, "The Psychodynamics of the Triad, Alcoholism, Gambling, and Superstition," *Mental Hygiene*, 35 (1951), 589-98.

²"Dostoevski and Parricide," *Sigmund Freud*, XXI (London: Hogarth Press, 1961), 193-94.

³"On Gambling," *American Imago*, 4 (1947), 61-77.

⁴*Gamblers Anonymous*, p. 2 (*Gamblers Anonymous—Big Book* and pamphlets may be purchased at National Service Office, Gamblers Anonymous, Los Angeles 6, Calif.)

⁵See Lycurgus Starkey, Jr., *Money, Mania, and Morals* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1964), pp. 114-19, for a step in the right direction toward theology and gambling.

⁶See Lee, *op. cit.*, Part Four.

⁷W. D. Mackenzie, *The Ethics Gambling* (Chicago: Chicago Theological Seminary Press, 1877), p. 9.

⁸*God's Gambler* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1964).

⁹*Gamblers Anonymous* (Los Angeles: The G. A. Publishing Co., 1964), p. 1.

12

A Plan of Action



In attempting to analyze gambling from every viewpoint, not one shred of evidence favors it. There is evidence on every hand, however, which "requires its severest condemnation."¹ But what can be done? For the most part, the vast amount of material published about gambling contains only scattered, fragmented efforts to outline a plan of action. This chapter is an attempt to move beyond analysis to action.²

The Goal

Simply stated, the gambling problem results from two inter-related factors: the desire—often a compulsive desire—to gamble, and the easy access to gambling opportunities. The ultimate goal or plan of action is clear from this analysis of the problem: Control or eliminate both the desire and the access.

The desire to gamble and the opportunity to gamble go together. An attack on one requires an attack on the other.

It is a matter of fact that as gambling becomes more accessible more people gamble. When gambling is legalized and brought into the open, people who otherwise would never gamble become deeply involved. The Massachusetts Crime Commission, in existence from 1953 to 1957, reported that gambling was not a serious problem in that state until the operation of licensed pari-mutuel tracks began in 1935.³ Bookies have testified that their

business improves when the racetracks are open in their area.⁴ In 1960, England made legal almost every form of gambling. Betting shops sprang up all over the nation.

Arthur L. Goodhart, professor of jurisprudence at University College, Oxford, reports, "The wave of gambling that has spread over the whole country has proved to be far greater than anyone expected."⁵ The manager of the largest lay-off bank in England estimated that the number of persons interested in betting tripled or quadrupled after legalization.⁶ Obviously, achieving the first part of the goal—eliminating the desire to gamble—is greatly dependent on the second part—eliminating gambling opportunities.

Some people, however, have such a strong desire to gamble that they will seek out relatively inaccessible betting opportunities or create new ones. Evidently the urge to wager is stimulated by a number of factors in addition to the presence of gambling. Personality maladjustment, emotional disorder, spiritual sickness, economic need, the pressure of a materialistic society, an inability to use leisure time creatively—all contribute to one's desire to gamble.

Clearly, any effective program must deal with both facets. Ways must be found both to eliminate the factors which produce a gambling-prone personality and to eradicate gambling places.

Obstacles

This twofold objective will not be easily achieved. Many obstacles stand in the way of victory.

One serious obstacle is that most people afflicted with gambling fever are not interested in being cured. As Jimmy Breslin put it, "Win or lose, a bet steps up my pulse, and I like it."⁷

The compulsive gambler is especially difficult to help. In the first place, his problem is complex. As Edmund Bergler, who has written extensively on the psychology of gambling, points out, "Gambling is rarely an isolated sore spot in the personality: it is a symptom of a deep, underlying neurosis."⁸ In the second place, the compulsive gambler seldom wants help and rarely seeks it, unless forced by family or friends.⁹

Not only is eliminating the desire to gamble difficult, but getting rid of gambling itself is an even bigger order. To root out profes-

sional gambling is a Gargantuan task. For one thing, gambling is an ancient practice. Its recorded history goes back over four thousand years. It has never been permanently suppressed.¹⁰

Also, gambling has popular support; a majority of adult Americans participate. Herbert A. Bloch, a distinguished sociologist, speaks of "the secure place which gambling enjoys in the folkways."¹¹ Approximately fifty to sixty million Americans gamble, and most of them enjoy it.¹² A few of the six million compulsive gamblers in the United States may realize that gambling is wrecking their lives, but even these would violently protest any effort to abolish it.¹³ Most nongamblers are relatively indifferent and put forth minimum effort to curtail public wagering.

The professional gamblers can be expected to fight viciously any attempt to abolish gambling. Huge profits are at stake. It must be remembered that gambling is the biggest money-making operation in America.¹⁴

The professional gambler is not one to take lightly. He is not the jovial, public-spirited citizen that he is frequently pictured as being. He is usually mean and vicious, especially when his interests are threatened. A former compulsive gambler testifies, "There are lots of stories about jovial, softhearted bookies, but I have never known one that was not a liar and a cheat—and I've known at least two hundred."¹⁵ "Scratch a gambler," said Edward Silver, district attorney in Brooklyn, "and you find a murderer."¹⁶ Wallace Turner, Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter, states that in Las Vegas "old-time trained law violators are the backbone of the gambling community."¹⁷ Most professional gamblers have long criminal records.¹⁸

In fact, gambling and syndicated crime are so closely linked that an attack on one involves an attack on the other. The report on gambling and organized crime of the Senate Committee on Government Operations in 1962 stated that "the chief source of revenue for organized crime is illegal gambling" and that "the huge profits from illegal gambling were the primary source of funds to finance other activities of organized crime."¹⁹

The person who actively opposes professional gamblers will be dealing with a well-financed, powerful, unscrupulous, vicious,

criminal foe. It is no wonder that Ralph Phelps, the man who led the antigambling forces to victory in Arkansas in 1964, warns, "If a person is not able to withstand every possible form of abuse short of assassination (and that's not completely beyond the realm of possibility, either), he had better not oppose progambling forces—even if their front men are distinguished-looking gentlemen in grey flannel suits."²⁰

To make matters even more difficult, the gamblers have purchased protection from many who could drive their operation out of existence. Gamblers believe that every man has his price,²¹ that gambling bribes are "honest graft,"²² and that to expect honesty of public officials is "Boy Scout stuff."²³

Milton R. Wessel, the lawyer who headed the special group on organized crime under Attorney General William G. Rogers, has said, "Fully half of the syndicates' income from gambling is earmarked for protection money paid to police and politicians."²⁴ Approximately 4.5 billion dollars annually goes from gamblers to public officials as bribes.²⁵ The vested interest of politicians and public officials in gambling is a huge handicap in any effort to abolish the practice.

Finally, efforts to abolish gambling are hindered by the lack of agreement among antigambling forces. There is disagreement over whether gambling should be legalized or outlawed, over whether the aim should be control or annihilation of gambling activities. Antigambling efforts by churches, citizens' groups, and law enforcement agencies are woefully lacking in coordination.

In spite of the numerous handicaps, effective steps have been taken from time to time against the professional gamblers. During the late 1800s, lotteries, which had flourished in earlier years, were abolished and rather effectively controlled.²⁶ During the 1960s, efforts to extend the legalization of gambling have been stopped in California, Arkansas, Texas, and Washington.²⁷ Scores of times, an aroused citizenry in a state or community has cleaned house and sent the gamblers packing.²⁸ The successful efforts of the past indicate that something *can* be done to rid the nation of the gambling menace.

David Allen, after a careful scientific study, concluded, "Gam-

bling can be suppressed with normal public opinion support [sic] by an effective police department and adequate laws."²⁹ However, we must also realize that no solution will be permanent. The gambling interests, when defeated, have always sought a comeback.

General Approach

Before developing specific tactics, a general approach to a plan of action should be worked out. An effective plan, for example, will have balance between the positive and the negative, prevention and correction, individual and group, local and national efforts.

We should not only be against gambling, but also be for a sound economy, an equitable tax structure, and a stable society. We should not only condemn gambling, but also help those victimized by gambling. We should not only be against the proposals made by the gambling community, such as those to legalize gambling, but also be for proposals which can deal adequately with the people's need for recreation and the state's need for relief from fiscal difficulty—two problems the gambling interests promise to resolve.

Too often antigambling efforts have centered in correction. Emphasis has been placed on arrest and conviction of known professional gamblers and rehabilitation of compulsive gamblers. While this is necessary, emphasis should also be placed upon preventive measures, such as stable home and community life, honest and efficient government and law enforcement, the development of a wholesome attitude toward work and material possessions, and the channeling of self-assertion into constructive outlets.

Well-meaning, but naïve, people often suggest that if individual citizens will do what is right, the gambling problem will disappear. While there is truth to this statement, it really says too little because it says too much. True, the foundation for all efforts to cope with the gambling problem is the individual. However, group action is also necessary.

Local efforts to deal with gambling, important as they may be, are inadequate. Gambling is nationally syndicated. Therefore, national effort must be made to counter syndicated gambling and crime interests. This national effort should not be to the exclusion of but rather in cooperation with the local and state efforts.

Any adequate plan must be extensive and comprehensive. To confine a program of action to one approach is to doom it to failure. The plan must be extensive enough to include the spiritual, educational, and legal approaches and comprehensive enough to incorporate all aspects of the social order.

However, comprehensiveness does not mean that every individual and organization must try to do everything. Priorities must be determined. Priorities will often be decided by the nature of the institution or organization. For example, some institutions, such as the home and church, are better suited to eliminate the desire to gamble, while others, such as the state, are better suited to abolish the opportunity to gamble. In other instances, need will dictate priorities. In a community where gambling is accepted with great indifference, an educational campaign may be needed. In another community, public opinion may be running strong against gambling. Here a drive for effective legislation and law enforcement may be in order.

Obviously, flexibility is essential. What will work in one place may not be effective in another. What is needed in one community may not be needed in another. What one person or group can do may be beyond the reach of others. Timing and common sense are essential.

The following questions should be helpful in determining priorities: What do we ultimately hope to achieve? What can we hope to achieve in the immediate future? What is the most urgent need, and what can be done to meet it most effectively?

Specific Tactics

In addition to determining an ultimate goal, understanding the obstacles, and laying down general guidelines, the setting forth of specific suggestions concerning tactics is a necessary part of a plan of action. Certain tactics are applicable to practically all individuals and groups: state clearly an antigambling sentiment; refuse to participate in gambling activities; oppose the legalization of gambling; advocate legislation to outlaw gambling; encourage strict enforcement of gambling laws; teach why gambling is wrong; and demonstrate the fallaciousness of the arguments used in defense

of gambling. Other tactics are uniquely suited to each aspect of society—the individual, the family, the church, the world of work, community organizations, and the state.

Individual.—An important phase of the campaign against gambling is individual action. If gambling is to be curtailed, individuals must overcome their do-nothing inertia and set aside their usual excuses such as "I don't have time," "Let someone else do it," "Others can do it better than I," "I don't want to risk the dangers of becoming involved in a fight against crime and gambling," or "I don't want to be labeled a fanatic." A Christian citizen who knows what the gambling interests are doing—wrecking the lives of people and crippling the nation—and continues to sit complacently by and do nothing demonstrates a lack of both Christian concern and patriotism.

The individual has a responsibility to become informed. He should learn the facts about gambling, discover the role gambling plays in his own community, and become familiar with gambling laws. He should also study the relationship of gambling and crime, of gambling and economic stability, and of gambling and personal well-being and happiness. Having obtained the facts, the individual has a responsibility to speak up against gambling. He must not allow himself the comfort of retreating to the sanctuary of silence when a progambling barrage begins. Through conversation, letters, speeches, articles, and other means at his disposal, he ought to share his views on gambling.

The individual should match action with talk. He ought to abstain from gambling, large or small, petty or professional. As Robert F. Kennedy pointed out when he was attorney general, petty betting "bankrolls the underworld."³⁰ The individual should also refuse to take part in sweepstakes, give-away contests, and other promotional schemes which add fuel to the gambling fire. In addition, he ought to complain to the sponsoring companies of such programs.

Family.—Homes not only can help drive out the professional gamblers, but they also can help dry up gambling's supply source—the casual and compulsive bettor. Most psychiatric authorities agree that the unstable, gambling-prone personality is usually de-

veloped within the wrong type of home environment.³¹ Therefore, when a home produces a stable personality it helps prevent gambling.

Family atmosphere plays a significant role in such a home. Spiritual nurture, love, and discipline provide the foundation for a stable personality. Homes in which family members pray together, work together, talk together, and play together, homes in which there is the proper balance of love and discipline, homes in which children feel wanted and secure do not normally produce members of Gamblers Anonymous. A child's need for love and security cannot be emphasized too strongly. Iago Galdston in a paper delivered at the New York Academy of Medicine, March, 1951, stated:

Neurotic gambling can thus be understood as a compulsion acting out of a plea to the surrogate figures, mother most likely, but father also, for a show of favor, for the affirmative response to the questions—"Do you love me?"—"Do you approve of me?"—"Do you think I am good, and smart, and strong?" It were as if these questions, proper to the child, were for these children now grown, never answered in childhood adequately.³²

Family activities should be specifically oriented against gambling. Parents ought to avoid gambling centers on recreational outings, encourage their children to associate with persons who do not gamble, discourage the viewing of movies or television programs which glamorize gambling or picture it as a normal, accepted routine of life, and eliminate from the home games which tend to lower children's resistance to gambling.

Parents should teach their children by both example and instruction that gambling is wrong. The parents' general attitude toward money, material possessions, and work is especially important. Parents who believe that character is more important than material success or fame, who do not constantly display anxiety over money matters, who are not envious of the possessions of others, who are convinced that a person should work for what he gets, who show disdain for a something-for-nothing philosophy, who do not complain about having to work, who are not constantly seeking an easy dollar, and who promptly strangle ma-

terialism when it appears will help their children develop attitudes unfavorable to the growth of the gambling spirit. Also, parents should not gamble. "When parents gamble, children are encouraged to form the habit. Parents may try to persuade their children not to, but are rarely successful if the children observe that their parents themselves gamble."³³

Parental example must be supplemented by instruction. Specific teaching, adjusted to the learning level of the child, will clarify what has been communicated by attitude, action, and example. Antigambling education is not a simple, one-shot affair. Parents should take seriously this phase of home education. In preventing the development of a desire to gamble, what parents teach children about work, the use of money, and a general attitude toward life is just as important as what they teach specifically about gambling.

Church.—In the local church, the pastor usually sets the pace for concern and action. With tragic frequency, however, pastors skirt such controversial issues as gambling. Many "heed the advice of a retired pastor who attributed his 'success' in the ministry to the fact that in the forty years of his pastorate, he had never preached on a controversial subject!"³⁴ Often the reaction to speaking out on a controversial matter is less than pleasant. In a recent cartoon a preacher stood in a huge church before a congregation composed of four or five persons; he began his sermon, "I have decided to preach today on a less controversial subject."³⁵

Although gambling is a controversial issue, the pastor has a responsibility to preach, write, and teach concerning the problem. "Churchmen need not be apologetic and timid about fighting such an adversary as this, though other churchmen, veterans' organizations, and charity dupes may unwisely be in the forefront of the opposition."³⁶

From time to time the pastor should lead his church in an intensive educational program on gambling. Through conversation and public address, he should urge others to join the fight against gambling. Like any other citizen, he ought to communicate with government representatives, expressing himself not only against progambling legislation but also for worthwhile bills and policies. The pastor can minister in a unique way to those afflicted by

gambling, such as the compulsive gambler and his family. He has the responsibility to pray and to lead others to pray that those harmed by gambling will be helped, that gamblers will be converted to Christ and his way, and that a revival of Christian concern will spread across the nation, sweeping it free of gambling.

Through evangelism the church will lead men into a warm relationship of trust and faith in Jesus Christ, which is the only adequate basis for a stable life. Cold moralism, economic self-interest, and other lesser motivations will not carry the day against gambling. Through its fellowship, the church should offer love, acceptance, and forgiveness to the person who comes seeking Christ's help for his problem with gambling.

The church also has a responsibility to set an example in the community. Churches should, therefore, struggle to avoid the affliction of materialism. A congregation which seems to place more emphasis on subscribing big budgets and erecting magnificent buildings than on helping people is a poor witness to a culture possessed with a mania for money and things. Churches should never use gambling as a fund-raising technique. The good Samaritan did not sponsor a lottery or bingo game to help the man in need. He gave out of his own resources. For a church to sponsor gambling is to lend respectability to a sinister operation, open a door for professional gamblers to enter a community, institute the gambling habit in people, and hinder enforcement of gambling laws. In addition, it is an undignified and inefficient way to raise money.³⁷

An antigambling education program should be carried out through the regular activities of the church and through special programs, such as discussion groups, study courses, summer camps, and retreats. Tracts, pamphlets, and books on gambling ought to be made available to church members.³⁸

The local church has a responsibility to be involved in specific action dealing with gambling. For example, churches should see that counseling and other help is provided for compulsive gamblers and their families. An eminent sociologist has warned that "gambling may be diminished or removed only to the degree that other recreational choices are cultivated."³⁹ To help prevent the growth

of gambling, therefore, churches should sponsor programs of recreation or see that such programs are available within communities. Slums and poverty breed certain forms of gambling; churches should encourage the national effort to improve housing and raise the standard of living. Political action against gambling also is a matter for church involvement. In general, this political action is led most effectively by laymen rather than clergymen. In addition to measures directed specifically against gambling, churches should encourage higher wages and qualifications for law enforcement officials, insist on less political involvement on the part of courts, and encourage an adequate and wise tax policy to finance government services.

Religious denominations should enter the war against gambling by issuing public statements against gambling, sponsoring special study groups and conferences on the national, state, and local levels, and supporting denominational agencies which deal with the problem. While they are not to carry the entire load, denominational agencies of Christian social concern are expected to lead the way. They should stimulate research and writing, distribute information and materials, encourage editors of church publications to print articles related to the menace, sponsor special study conferences, and provide grants for research projects. The agencies should also keep in contact with national and state legislative developments, communicate with representatives, and distribute legislative information to the church members.

Periodicals, journals, newspapers, curriculum materials, books, pamphlets, tracts, films, and television programs produced by denominational agencies should, from time to time, deal with gambling. Many excellent materials have already been produced. Denominational colleges and seminaries can also help. Possible approaches include courses on social problems with an emphasis on gambling, graduate studies and dissertations, directed research projects supported by grants from denominational and private foundations, and journalism programs to produce capable writers. Facts on gambling gathered by the schools should be shared with the denominational social concerns agency to distribute to the churches.⁴⁰

In addition to efforts by local churches and denominations, interfaith cooperation is essential in an adequate antigambling program. Local, state, and national interdenominational groups, such as the National Council of Churches, should issue resolutions, conduct special study conferences, distribute literature, and participate in related political action. An example of such action was the national consultation on legalized gambling assembled in New York City in November, 1964, sponsored by the National Council of Churches. Many of the activities carried on by denominational groups can also be performed by local, state, and national councils of churches.

The World of Work

Three areas of the workaday world can be especially helpful in combating gambling: business, labor unions, and the communications media. Christians should be active in each of these.

Business leaders are frequently in the forefront of the battle against gambling. They know that gambling undermines rather than strengthens the economy. Hard-nosed businessmen rather than bluenosed clergymen have been responsible for most successful antigambling movements. For example, David Allen documents that the campaigns against lotteries in the 1800s "were primarily of business and professional men."⁴¹ In Texas, businessmen and economists played a leading role in banning pari-mutuel horse-race betting in the 1930s and in preventing such gambling from being legalized in the early 1960s. The business community can stave off gambling by guarding against the professional gambler's efforts to take over legitimate business concerns, by striving for full employment, decent wage scales, and the elimination of poverty, and by refusing to use advertising or promotional schemes which utilize the gambling motif. Businessmen can also cooperate with the total community in building a sound economy not dependent on gambling tourism for income nor upon state-operated lotteries or gambling taxes for government financing.

In addition to duplicating what business leaders do to oppose gambling, labor leaders should urge their unions to go on record as opposing the legalization of gambling and stress to laborers that

they have just as much at stake in the building of a strong, gambling-free economy as the businessmen do.

There is considerable evidence of the concern labor unions have for the gambling problem. Gordon Cole, editor of *The Machinist*, trade paper of the International Association of Machinists, has written, "Most labor organizations oppose commercialized gambling because of its 'drag on the economy, diverting purchasing power from job-producing industries.'" ⁴²

The United Auto Workers prepared an antigambling pamphlet in 1953,⁴³ and a few years ago, Walter Reuther led a war on gambling within the auto plants of Detroit.⁴⁴

Unions, along with management, must help employees learn how to use constructively their newfound leisure and discover meaning in their work. "It has been discovered that the use of leisure becomes especially congenial to gambling of all sorts, public and private, when work is sharply separated from leisure and where work loses its utility as a calling, is highly routine and mechanized and characterized by drudgery and boredom."⁴⁵

The communications industries, including radio, television, movies, newspapers, and magazines, can play a significant role in cleaning up the nation's gambling mess. The damage inflicted by gambling ought to be portrayed from many points of view, including the psychological, sociological, and economic. "Biography of a Bookie" by CBS and "The Business of Gambling" by NBC have been helpful television documentaries. Christians should encourage such constructive efforts by expressing their opinions to company officials. Also, Christian writers have a responsibility to produce materials for the communications media.

Organizations

Americans have created thousands of clubs, associations, and committees to which they give huge amounts of money, time, and volunteer labor. Christians should work through these organizations to combat gambling. For purposes of discussion, the organizations can be divided into two groups: (1) those not exclusively devoted to the gambling problem, and (2) those existing primarily to oppose gambling interests.

The multitude of clubs, fraternal groups, lodges, and vocational associations can help by going on record as officially opposing public gambling, having special programs which deal with the gambling threat, educating their members on the gambling problem through their various conventions, programs, and publications, and refraining from sponsoring gambling activities either within the group for entertainment or in public to raise funds.

Political parties should be urged to take a stand against public gambling and against the legalization of gambling. If each of the major political parties on the national, state, and local level would publicly endorse an all-out war against syndicated crime and its bedfellow, gambling, the antigambling cause would be greatly aided.

Parent-Teacher associations, on the national, state, and local level, should encourage antigambling programs and courses within the public school system, sponsor programs on gambling, and discourage gambling activities at school carnivals. Entirely too many school fund-raising projects sponsored by parent groups are nothing but open-air casinos. While such petty gambling may seem harmless, its long-range effects may be devastating. Through such activities, gambling is dignified and a something-for-nothing desire is stimulated. Neither of these effects is desirable.

A comprehensive plan of action requires specialized antigambling organizations. For example, a nation-wide, nongovernment, nonsectarian organization with state chapters should likely be established to deal with the problem of gambling. Financed by churches, individuals, interested organizations, and foundations, the organization would cooperate with government and church agencies by gathering facts and data, printing and distributing literature, providing newsworthy material to the communications media, and supplying counsel and legal assistance to communities threatened by gambling. In regard to legislation, the organization would keep abreast of developments in Congress and state legislatures, distribute information concerning these developments, and encourage elected representatives to defeat progambling legislation and promote antigambling legislation.

In order to meet specific onslaughts by the gambling interests,

special citizens' committees should be formed. Composed of a cross section of the population, such committees will function in different ways according to need—investigating and exposing gambling activities, stimulating the enforcement of antigambling laws, opposing proposals to legalize gambling, and working for the complete abolishment of legalized gambling through constitutional amendment or legislative action.

Such committees have functioned effectively in many different circumstances. In the 1800s, the New York Association for the Suppression of Gambling and the Massachusetts Association for the Suppression of Lotteries and Other Gambling played a primary role in abolishing lotteries.⁴⁶ More recently, two committees in the Southwest have effectively beaten down efforts to legalize gambling. Churches United Against Gambling helped defeat the move to legalize casino gambling in Arkansas in 1964, Texans Against Racetrack Gambling thwarted efforts in Texas in 1962 to legalize pari-mutuel horse-race betting.

Private, voluntary, nonprofit, nonsectarian groups affiliated through a national organization should be formed throughout the nation to help rehabilitate the compulsive gamblers. Gamblers Anonymous is one such organization already in existence. Modeled after Alcoholics Anonymous, Gamblers Anonymous often succeeds where even psychiatric help has failed in helping compulsive gamblers lick the betting habit. Since 1957, when the movement was founded in Los Angeles, thousands of persons have participated in the program.⁴⁷

Government

A successful effort to combat gambling depends largely on government action. Government in the legislative, judicial, and administrative phases on the local, state, and national levels must be brought to bear on the problem. In some cases, the neglect of citizenship responsibilities by Christians has allowed gambling interests to take control of governments. Christians can prevent such take-overs and set back the gambling cause by involvement in political action—supporting candidates who favor a gambling-free society, calling for strict law enforcement, being alert for graft

among government officials, and urging the extension of antigambling legislation.

Education is a significant government weapon to use against gambling. Schools at all levels should set as their basic goal the development of mature, responsible, disciplined persons—people with character. The curriculum should be geared to build moral muscles. Adequate, well-taught courses on social problems, including gambling, are needed. Counseling programs can help students with malformed, gambling-prone personalities develop into healthy, stable persons. Effective recreational programs can train students to have fun without resorting to gambling.

In light of a number of bribery scandals which have rocked high school and college athletic programs in recent years, school officials should be on guard against the efforts of professional gamblers to tamper with sports events. Because of the influence of teachers on students, responsible persons are needed to fill teaching and administrative posts. Therefore, concerned citizens ought to insist on adequate pay and high standards for school personnel.

Effective welfare programs can also be used by government to deter gambling and crime. Rehabilitation centers and counseling services should be available to the victims of gambling. Social workers should help compulsive gamblers find legitimate employment and should continue to work to eliminate social conditions which breed gambling.

Special investigations by government agencies are also useful in combating crime and gambling. The investigations conducted under the leadership of Senator Estes Kefauver in the early 1950s, the probing of the Massachusetts Crime Commission from 1953 to 1957, and the studies of organized crime and gambling by committees of the United States Senate and Justice Department in the past decade are examples of what government investigation in this area can accomplish. While some abuse may result from irresponsible investigators and some inefficiency may occur from investigation not linked with enforcement, the overall result is beneficial. As a result of each of the examples given, public opinion was aroused, antigambling legislation was passed, and gambling was curtailed. Unless the crime and gambling picture

drastically changes, such investigations will be needed periodically within each state and for the nation as a whole.

Effective legislation by the states and by the Federal Government is needed. As of now, most laws related to gambling are on a state or local level. Federal laws have to do almost exclusively with the collection of revenue on gambling operations and with interstate commerce and communication. Since gambling is a nation-wide operation, more extensive national laws are needed.⁴⁸

The actual nature and content of the laws must be determined by the lawmakers.⁴⁹ However, several suggestions have been made. David Allen insists that the laws should be on a federal and state level, should prohibit all public gambling, should contain stiff penalties such as extended jail sentences, and should make any participation in public gambling a felony. He urges that the laws make a careful distinction between private and public gambling and be directed only against public gambling. Allen insists that since public gambling is a social evil, there is ample justification for such laws apart from moral or religious considerations. Because of the general aversion on the part of Americans for "legislated morality," morality should be soft-pedaled as a reason for the laws.⁵⁰ Any sort of gambling, public or private, can be considered immoral. However, as a matter of strategy, the state should concentrate on public gambling and the churches and voluntary agencies on both public and private gambling.

The Council of State Governments published a model anti-gambling law in 1953, and the American Bar Association's Commission on Organized Crime Control endorsed it.⁵¹ The act contains the following provisions: (1) Use a general definition which includes all forms of gambling. (2) Penalize most severely the professional aspects of gambling. (3) Penalize the patron of a professional gambling operation. (4) Prohibit the transmission of gambling information by wire or radio. (5) Provide for suspending and revoking licenses and permits of establishments which allow gambling on the premises. (6) Declare gambling devices to be nuisances and subject to seizure on sight. (7) Provide effective means for dealing with gambling premises and furnishings.

It is frequently argued that the best way to deal with gambling is to legalize it. This is not true. The American Bar Association's Commission on Organized Crime Control, after careful study, decided that "professional gambling should not, under any circumstances or in any degree, be licensed or legalized."⁵² Those who have studied the matter carefully contend that legalization increases the number of gambling addicts, creates corruption, harms the economy, damages social stability, corrupts morals, expands the influence of the criminal class, and delivers none of its promises, such as lower crime rates and decreased taxes.⁵³ LeRoy Collins, former governor of Florida, telling of his state's experience with legalized gambling, writes, "I have heard all the arguments in favor of licensed, legalized, supervised gambling. To me they are a sham and a delusion."⁵⁴

Equitable, sound tax legislation is an integral part of the war against gambling, since much of the appeal to legalize gambling is based on added funds for the state. As Eric Bender points out, "We, the people, must sooner or later realize that there are no easy ways of raising money economically; that there is no such thing as easy money; and that easy answers won't charm away hard facts."⁵⁵

Antigambling legislation must be backed up by effective law enforcement. Legislation without enforcement fails to deter gambling and stimulates disrespect for the law. The Massachusetts State Crime Commission discovered, for example, that when the Federal Government passed its gambling stamp law in the early 1950s, the bookies closed down their operation in panic. They stayed under cover six weeks. When they realized that the Bureau of Internal Revenue did not have sufficient manpower to police the law, they resumed their usual activity.⁵⁶

The very finest caliber of men must be enlisted as law enforcement officers. In many places, police should have better pay and status. Police are often paid such low salaries that they are highly susceptible to bribes from professional gamblers.

Coordination and cooperation between all levels of law enforcement are needed to combat crime and gambling. The maze of police agencies in the nation creates confusion. Often there is a

lack of clearly defined responsibilities. Conflict between agencies is common, cooperation is frequently lacking, and coordination is negligible. In light of this situation, David Allen suggests that Congress "should undertake, in cooperation with the several states, a general study of its law enforcement processes on all levels."⁵⁷

Since gambling interests are well-organized on a national scale, a national law enforcement agency may be needed to deal with the problem. As Fred Cook states the case, "Syndicated crime, highly organized, blithely crossing state lines to send a murder squad from New York to perform an execution in California, is decidedly more than a local enforcement problem; it is a national menace with which only federal agencies, having national jurisdiction, can be adequately equipped to deal."⁵⁸ The 1962 Senate Committee which investigated gambling and organized crime obviously agreed. The Committee's report states, "It must be conceded that for various reasons, mostly justifiable and understandable, local law enforcement agencies cannot adequately cope with the grave internal threat posed by organized crime."⁵⁹

The FBI might serve in this capacity. However, J. Edgar Hoover objects to a unified, powerful Federal agency dealing stoutly with crime and gambling within the states. He has a fear, perhaps justified, that such a step might lead to a police state.⁶⁰

In spite of such objections, some sort of unified, national crime-fighting task force is undoubtedly needed. Numerous suggestions have been made as to how this need can be met. Milton Wessel has recommended an office of Syndicated Crime or a U. S. Attorney-at-large, appointed by the President, to take charge of the war on syndicated crime and gambling. Such an office would be a position of stature directly responsible to the President.⁶¹ Obviously, Congress and the administration need to give serious consideration to the development of an office or agency to deal with organized crime and gambling.

Effective enforcement of gambling laws also depends upon the courts. Too often, courts treat gambling cases lightly. Example after example can be cited of judges who are soft on gamblers. In New York, a series of police raids in 1959 saw the arrest of scores of bookies. Most of those arrested were fined from \$5.00

to \$500; only a handful served jail terms, brief ones at that.⁶² A study in Chicago by Virgil Peterson, operating director of the Chicago Crime Commission, revealed that of 5,585 persons arrested on charges of gambling, 5,023 were discharged without any penalty. For those found guilty, the average fine was \$15.25. No jail sentences were given.⁶³ In the early 1960s, the grand jury in Dallas criticized the local police for its strict enforcement against "small gambling."⁶⁴

In 1959, the Philadelphia Commissioner of Police wrote, "Here is the unpleasant fact about the way gambling racketeers fare in court: Less than 1 percent of all those arrested every year in Philadelphia get jail sentences."⁶⁵ Since "racketeers laugh at court fines,"⁶⁶ the courts should impose stiff jail sentences for gambling offenses, especially on repeat offenders. The threat of severe sentences causes the professional gambling interests to be less brazen in their activities.⁶⁷ For gambling addicts, rehabilitation treatment perhaps should be substituted for a jail sentence.

The support of public opinion is also a necessary factor in effective enforcement of gambling laws. Generally, Americans have little regard for a law when it infringes on what they consider to be their personal rights.⁶⁸ Many consider gambling laws to be in this category. As one gambling advocate put it, "Outmoded laws and bluenosed thinkers infringe upon our right to gamble."⁶⁹ The public must be educated about the nature of gambling laws and why they are needed.

Conclusion

The time for action is now. The gambling craze grows more intense each year. The strength of the criminal and gambling forces is increasing at a terrifying rate. The enemy within—the gambling and criminal element—is rapidly becoming as serious a threat to the nation as the enemy without.

The price of victory will be high, for the enemy is powerful and vicious. All responsible citizens and forces of our society must join hands to defeat the gamblers before they drag the nation down to their level. No one can do everything; however, everyone ought to do something. All that we cherish could be at stake.

NOTES

¹David D. Allen, *The Nature of Gambling* (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1952), p. 151.

²For other excellent approaches—none of them comprehensive—see Allen, pp. 168-207; Herbert A. Bloch, "How to Control Gambling," *Concern*, May 15, 1963, pp. 3-5; Fred J. Cook, "Gambling, Inc.," *The Nation*, October 22, 1960, pp. 310-16; Lycurgus Starkey, Jr., *Money, Mania, and Morals* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1964), pp. 114-24.

³Cook, "Gambling, Inc.," pp. 303-5.

⁴*Ibid.*

⁵Virgil Peterson, "A Look at Legalized Gambling," *The Christian Century*, LXXXII, No. 21 (May 26, 1965), p. 678.

⁶Richard P. Edgar, "The Push for Legal Gambling," *Pulpit Digest*, May, 1965, p. 15.

⁷"Speaking Out in Defense of Gambling," *Saturday Evening Post*, January 5-12, 1963, p. 12.

⁸*Psychology of Gambling* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1957), p. 127.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 131; "I Was a Compulsive Gambler," *Saturday Evening Post*, August 23, 1958, p. 25.

¹⁰Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

¹¹"The Sociology of Gambling," *The American Journal of Sociology*, November, 1951, p. 220.

¹²Starkey, *op. cit.*, pp. 15, 29.

¹³"I was a Compulsive Gambler," *op. cit.*, p. 25.

¹⁴Gordon H. Cole and Sidney Margolius, *When You Gamble You Risk More Than Your Money* (New York: Public Affairs Committee, 1964), p. 2.

¹⁵"I Was a Compulsive Gambler," p. 65.

¹⁶Starkey, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

¹⁷*Gambler's Money: The New Force in American Life* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1965), p. 170.

¹⁸Cook, "Gambling, Inc.," pp. 262-63.

¹⁹*Gambling and Organized Crime*, p. 2. (Cited hereafter as Senate Report.)

²⁰Undated speech manuscript in the files of Bill Pinson.

²¹Cook, "Gambling, Inc.," p. 296.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 263.

²³*Ibid.*, p. 316.

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 260.

²⁵*Ibid.*

²⁶Eric Bender, *Tickets to Fortune* (New York: Modern Age Books, 1938), pp. 125-74.

²⁷"Happenings," *Concern*, December 1, 1964, p. 15.

²⁸Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-121.

²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 120.

³⁰"The Illegal Bet: What's Wrong with It?" *Parade*, October 29, 1961 p. 7.

³¹Bergler, *Psychology of Gambling*, p. 128.

³²*Ibid.*, p. 81.

³³Cole and Margolius, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

"Gordon Clinard, "Preaching on Contemporary Moral Issues," *Christianity and Contemporary Moral Issues* (Dallas: Texas Baptist Christian Life Commission, 1963), p. 49.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*

⁴⁶Starkey, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

⁴⁷Robert Gorman, "Should You Gamble for Charity," *Redbook*, July, 1955, p. 20.

⁴⁸The following materials are suggested for church libraries: Lycurgus M. Starkey, Jr., *Money, Mania, and Morals* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1964); Gordon H. Cole and Sidney Margolius, *When You Gamble You Risk More Than Your Money* (New York: Public Affairs Committee, 1964). Tracts and other material can be ordered from the following sources: Episcopal Church Center, 815 Second Avenue, New York, New York 10017; Methodist Church, 100 Maryland Avenue, N.E., Washington 2, D. C.; Board of Christian Education, Presbyterian Church U. S., Box 1176, Richmond 9, Virginia; Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, 460 James Robertson Parkway Nashville, Tennessee; Christian Life Commission of the Baptist General Convention of Texas, 206 Baptist Building, Dallas 1, Texas; Concordia Tract Mission, Box 201, St. Louis, Missouri; Board of Social Ministry, Lutheran Church in America, 231 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10016.

⁴⁹Herbert A. Bloch, "The Sociology of Gambling," p. 221.

⁵⁰See also the paragraph on education under the subheading "Government."

⁵¹*Op. cit.*, p. 68.

⁵²Edgar, *op. cit.*

⁵³"UAW Warns: You Can't Win," *Business Week*, September 19, 1953, p. 178.

⁵⁴Starkey, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

⁵⁵Bloch, "The Sociology of Gambling," p. 4.

⁵⁶Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

⁵⁷Stanley Frank, "Gamblers Anonymous," *Saturday Evening Post*, May 26, 1962, pp. 44-46. Inquiries should be addressed to Gamblers Anonymous, P. O. Box 17173, Los Angeles, California. See also Starkey, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-73.

⁵⁸While most experts on the gambling problem are convinced that strong federal laws are needed outlawing gambling, they also agree there is little practical chance for such laws to be passed any time soon. Wallace Turner, for example, says, "So reluctant is Congress—tied as it is to the state's rights views of the Southerners—to limit the rights of the states that such a bill probably would die in committee." *Op. cit.*, p. 273. It should be noted that, as a result of the federal crime investigations of the early 1950s and 1960s, several helpful antigambling laws were passed.

⁵⁹Constitutional amendments may be even more effective than laws, since they are more difficult to change.

⁶⁰Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-207.

⁶¹Edgar, *op. cit.*

⁶²*Ibid.*

⁶³For excellent discussions on the question of the legalization of gam-

bling, see: Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-67; Cook, "Gambling, Inc.," pp. 304-5; Cole and Margolius, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-20; Edgar, "The Push for Legal Gambling," pp. 11-16; Virgil W. Peterson, *Gambling—Should It Be Legalized?* (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1951); Starkey, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-88; Turner, *op. cit.*, pp. 270-83.

⁶⁴Andrew Leigh Gunn, "Gambling, the Growing Menace," *Concern*, May 15, 1962, p. 12.

⁶⁵Bender, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

⁶⁶*Gambling and Organized Crime: Hearings Before the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee on Government Operations, United States Senate, Eighty-seventh Congress, First Session. Part I, August 22-25, 1961, p. 140.*

⁶⁷*Op. cit.*, p. 190.

⁶⁸Cook, "Gambling, Inc.," p. 311.

⁶⁹*Senate Report*, p. 1.

⁷⁰Cook, "Gambling, Inc.," p. 312.

⁷¹*Ibid.*, p. 316.

⁷²*Ibid.*, p. 276.

⁷³Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

⁷⁴Tom James, "Gambling in Texas," *Christianity and Contemporary Moral Issues*, p. 72.

⁷⁵Thomas J. Gibbons, "Should Gambling Be Legalized?" *Saturday Evening Post*, January 3, 1959, p. 27.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*

⁷⁷John M. Murtagh, "Gambling and Police Corruption," *Atlantic Monthly*, November, 1960, p. 49.

⁷⁸Peterson, "Obstacles to Enforcement of Gambling Laws," p. 9.

⁷⁹Breslin, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

THE GAMBLING MENACE

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